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GDR-POLISH MANEUVERS IN EAST GERMANY CONTINUE

AU132034 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Aug 81 pp 1, 2

[ND/ADN report: "Joint Exercises Continue: Soldiers of the NVA and Polish Army Exchange Experiences in Field Camps"]

[Text] Berlin (ND/ADN)--Troop formations of the National Peoples' Army [NVA] of the GDR and of the Polish Army continued their joint tactical exercises on Tuesday.

The decisions proposed by commanders at combat posts in the GDR's south east were confirmed. The staffs of the two armies proved to be up to the task of precisely conducting complicated actions on the combat field, and of organizing good quality collaboration between the troop formations of the two armies and the artillery and air force. The officer in charge stressed the high quality of work on the maps and on working out the combat documents by the staff officers.

The commanders' briefing on the impending actions took place in the field. Forces and equipment were regrouped and the consolidation of field fortifications by engineers was continued. The artillerymen of the "Albert Hoessler" troop formation practiced the fast changeover of firing positions with their howitzers. Soldiers of the "Max Roscher" troop unit checked the engines of the tanks and armored personnel carriers.

Capt Dieter Bretschneider, commander of a tank unit, stated: "The success of the exercise is decided to a great extent as early as during the stage of preparations." The unit had only recently been awarded the title of "best unit" for its fine performance in the first half of the training year. This constitutes an obligation for the 29-year-old officer, a former Freital steelworker, and for his men to accomplish all tasks with a high degree of reliability during the exercise with the Polish troops.

Pictures similar to those of the NVA members were also apparent at the Polish units. The motorized riflemen were engaged in camouflaging their combat vehicles and ammunition was being reloaded. For 1st Lt Adam Warchol, who participated for the first time in a joint exercise of our armies, the exercise deepens the close comradeship in arms which links the soldiers of our countries.

At a command post of the Polish Army, Lt Col Zdislav Wijas and his staff prepared for the impending actions. "We have been preparing ourselves for this joint exercise for a long time and conscientiously," he explained. "All tasks in combat training have been accomplished thus far. Since our visit to the GDR, we have had many friendly meetings with NVA soldiers and with working people in industrial and agricultural plants. The joint training and exercises, as well as the exchange of experiences, help to further enhance the defensive strength of socialism. These joint efforts are particularly necessary now in view of the attempts by imperialism to stop social progress."

In the afternoon there was an interesting exchange of experiences in the field camp on the principles and methods of conducting political work in combat. Together with Maj Gen Heinz Bilan, chief of the Political Administration of the Leipzig Military District, political officers and party functionaries discussed how the army members must be armed politically, morally, physically and mentally for modern combat.

SCIENTISTS' UNION PROTESTS AGAINST NEUTRON BOMB

AU132005 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Varna, 13 Aug (BTA)--Today representatives of the World Scientists' Federations' different countries participated in a protest meeting against the decision of Reagan's administration to produce neutron bombs.

Academician Kiril Bratanov, deputy-chairman of the World Scientists' Federation, chairm of the Union of the Bulgarian Scientists, Prof Dr Alexander Geischor, chairman of the Po. sh Academy of Sciences, Dr Ladislav Halberstat, deputy-chairman of the Union of the Czechoslovak Scientists, Prof Dr Lotar Berthold, director of the publishing house with the Academy of Sciences of the GDR and the Italian scientist Dr Flavio Boskalo, spoke at the meeting held in the international "Frederique Jolio Curie" scientists' home.

In the declaration adopted the scientists raised their voice of protest against the decision of Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, to start the manufacture of neutron bombs. This is a fatal step towards nuclear insanity, the scientists stated. We appeal to the peoples and the governments of all the countries the world over to respond to the reiterated proposals of the Soviet Union for prompt negotiations on disarmament and ensuring a control of the production, spread and deployment of all and all kinds of thermonuclear, chemical and biological weapons. We acclaim the proposal for setting up a world scientists' committee for halting the arms race, the declaration reads in part.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU131648 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] As the BTA corr pondent from Warsaw reports, the situation in Poland continues to be tense despite the fact that there have been no street demonstrations these last few days and the strikes have stopped. A number of Solidarity links have not renounced a readiness for strikes and continue to propagate leaflets, pamphlets and appeals.

At a 3-day session in Gdansk, the National Consultative Commission of the Solidarity trade union adopted an appeal to all members to stop the protest actions against the reduction of meat rations, to introduce eight working Saturdays until the end of the year and to adopt actions for struggle against [word indistinct]. Along with this, however, the Solidarity leadership once more blamed the government for the difficult economic situation in the country and for public disturbances.

Many political observers in Warsaw evaluate this Solidarity appeal as a tactical move on the eve of the election campaign within the trade union, since the majority of the workers class is already becoming aware of the true goals of certain Solidarity leaders. At the same time, numerous party, trade union and public organizations are addressing appeals to the population for calm and labor discipline. During the talks held for the first time between representatives of the Branch Trade Union Coordination Committee and the Committee for Trade Union Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers, the representatives of 6 million workers firmly expressed their stand in support of the government's economic and political measures. The representatives of the Autonomous Trade Unions, who yesterday had a talk with the minister of labor, wages and social problems, expressed a similar opinion.

ZHIVKOV MEETS FRENCH PARTY LEADER GEORGES MARCHAIS

AU131631 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Varna, 13 Aug (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, met Mr Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party [PCF] who is on holiday in our country.

During the talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, the two leaders informed each other of the activities of the BCP and the PCF. Special attention was paid to the international situation.

Topical matters related to the international communist and workers' movement were discussed.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Georges Marchais pointed to the threat the exacerbation of the international situation poses especially after the decision taken by the American administration to deploy new nuclear missiles in Europe and to start the manufacture of the neutron bomb, the most barbarous mass destruction weapon.

This dangerous policy seeks to convert the European Continent into a place for the application of the doctrine of the so-called "limited nuclear war" which means the beginning of a new stage in the arms race.

In Europe and the world, however, there exist forces capable of defeating this dangerous policy, which runs contrary to the interests of peoples. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Georges Marchais said they stood for common and decisive action of all the peaceloving forces, in favour of immediately opening, without any preliminary conditions, negotiations for the limitation of the medium range nuclear weapons, negotiations for finding mutually acceptable decisions in the sphere of disarmement, for the setting up of nuclear-free zones in some regions of Europe, including the Balkans, for regulation through negotiations of the existing conflicts, for furthering the process of detente and for development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the states.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Georges Marchais said they stood in favour of the promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation between Bulgaria and France which is in the best interests of the people of Bulgaria and France, in the interests of peace and detente in Europe and the world.

The two leaders expressed a mutual wish for further development and deepening of the existing fruitful, fraternal ties between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the French Communist Party in the name of the common communist ideals.

MARTINIQUE PARTY LEADER ARRIVES ON VACATION

AU131829 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Armand Nicolas, secretary general of the Communist Party of Martinique, has arrived in Bulgaria at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

RUDE PRAVO: HAIG SPEECH SIGNALS RETURN TO COLD WAR

AU140905 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Aug 81 p 7

[CTK Washington dispatch: "Policy of Confrontation: Secretary Haig on American-Soviet Relations"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Aug (CTK)--The Washington government wants to build its foreign policy and Soviet-American relations in the future on the "position of strength" and on diktat toward the Soviet Union. This follows from the speech delivered by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to the American Bar Association in New Orleans.

Secretary Haig spoke about the need to achieve "progress in the peace effort" and openly declared that this "progress depends on whether the United States is strong."

In the passage on Soviet-American relations, Haig conceded that the unappeasable conflicts [nesmiritelne rozpory] between the USSR and the United States should not lead to a "global catastrophe"; he claimed that the U.S. Government allegedly "wishes for constructive and mutually advantageous relations with the Soviet Union." But from the other statements made by the secretary of state, it follows that these are merely words behind which Washington is concealing its endeavor to achieve global confrontation.

In order to accommodate the militarist circles in the United States, which are dreaming of renewing the lost military supremacy over the USSR, Haig declared the growth of "America's military potential" to be the "primary principle of American foreign policy." This means the "modernization and expansion of the present Armed Forces," he added.

In the effort to justify the policy of further feverish armament, the latest expression of which is the decision to set neutron arms production at full speed, Haig spoke of the fictitious "growth of Soviet military strength" and of the alleged "Western lag" in this respect.

The secretary of state accused the USSR and its allies of "expansionism" and "aggressiveness" and demanded from them "greater restraint," although everybody knows very well that it is not the Soviet Union, but the United States that is expanding its military presence in various parts of the world and activating militarist preparations under the pretext of ensuring its "vital interests." Haig's statements about limiting strategic arms leave nobody in doubt that the Washington government has not adopted a constructive approach to this problem and that it is not in the least interested in its being resolved. Haig openly declared that, until recently, the United States had been "overrating the possibility of arms control negotiations influencing detente."

Haig stressed that it is necessary to thoroughly "prepare" for renewing the Soviet-American talks on strategic arms limitation and to carefully study the problem. As is known, Washington has been protracting this "preparation" for many months and it is in no hurry to name a specific date for renewing the talks, although President Reagan gave assurances during his preelection campaign that he intended to do this "immediately" after coming to power. Secretary of State Haig has again confirmed that Washington wants to "tie" the talks with the USSR on arms limitation to other problems which are not connected with it.

Haig also grossly attacked international assistance to Afghanistan, against which the United States, together with China, is waging an undeclared war.

In the section on trade and economic relations between the USSR and the United States, which Washington is striving to deaden completely, Haig made it clear that the White House intends to use them as a means of pressure on the Soviet Union.

The speech of the representative of the American Department of State again showed that the U.S. Government has not retreated a single step from the policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union, a policy directed against international detente and toward a return of the "cold war."

DAILY CONTINUES TO DENOUNCE U.S. NEUTRON BOMB

'Dangerous Step'

LD120850 Prague CTK in English 0812 GMT 12 Aug 81

[Text] Prague, 12 Aug (CETEKA)--The decision by the U.S. Government and President Ronald Reagan on the production of the neutron bomb was the consummation of long-term process, today's RUDE PRAVO said.

In their anti-communist hatred, the Pentagon generals and coolly speculating military and political strategists in the White House are capable of an atomic hazard and of throwing mankind into a catastrophe only to destroy socialism and win back the hegemonist position of imperialism in the world, the daily wrote.

Washington knows that there is not much prospect of a radical change in the balance of forces on the international scene. The gradual breakdown of the present structure of the capitalist world, ever more sharpend social conflicts and political instability, the degradation of culture and morale clearly suggest what the future of capitalism will be, the paper noted.

Instead of a solution of its own crisis, whose roots are social and not technological, Washington is seeking a solution which would be isolated from the result of the world-wide class struggle and does not hesitate to threaten with a nuclear war only to maintain power and capital, RUDE PRAVO emphasized in its comment on the new dangerous step of the U.S. Government.

'Real Threat to Peace'

LD131431 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Prague, 13 Aug (CETEKA)--The American decision to build the neutron warheads is a real threat to peace and the existence of mankind, and that is why American imperialism is finding itself once again in the pillory of nations, RUDE PRAVO says today.

U.S. efforts to gain military and strategic superiority over the Soviet Union with the production of new kinds of arms have always in the past proved futile. The Soviet Union always managed to reply to American blackmail and the balance was restored. There is no doubt that in case of need the USSR will find a reply also to the latest American challenge. This would naturally involve higher arms spending and a greater risk of war, the paper says and continues: "The fact that the White House did not consult its NATO allies before making its adventurous decision is a warning to those in Western Europe who assert that the USA would need their view before deploying the neutron warheads in Europe."

WESTERN INTELLIGENCE USES 'DISSIDENTS, HIRELINGS'

LD132020 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Today's RUDE PRAVO carries an article by Stanislaw Oborsky entitled "Dissidents, Hirelings and Worse." The article deals with the facts brought to light by the testimony of Josef Hodic, collaborator of our counterintelligence, and by what our customs authorities discovered in the hiding places of the specially adapted Puegeot vehicle of the French private lawyer Thonon.

Both the discovery of the hiding places and the testimony of Josef Hodic after his return home have provided an extensive picture of the Western secret services' and their paid agents' subversive activity aimed against the vital interests of Czechoslovakia. Citizens ask a justified question. Just how far will today's paid agents go? Experience shows that from the false slanders and venomous spit with which they want to besmirch our country there exists a short path to the treacherous knife. A list found in the Peugeot contained a number of well-known names whose bearers, as a rule, used to pose as humiliated, wronged persons persecuted by evil communists. In 1977 a little book was being illegally distributed in which various writers and literati from among the circle around Pavel Khout and Ludvik Vaculik lamented at the injustice, poverty and persecution meted out to them. Their names also appear in the lampoon carefully prepared by emigre sergeant majors on orders from imperialist secret services. These are the names of those who were (?to be entrusted with their tasks).

It is a kind of stereotype, RUDE PRAVO writes: Our courts of law punish a person who had been methodically violating the laws protecting the socialist character and life of the republic--and in the West someone picks up the baton, and the basic orchestra of the press, radio and television starts a slanderous concert against our country. According to this music we are oppressors, terror reigns in our country and human rights are violated.

It is, however, enough to observe the behavior of the bourgeois mass media in those cases when other states, for similar reasons, punish people who are endangering the (?foundations) of society; no concert is performed! And they maintain a stubborn silence when fighters against racism, opponents of the war craze, supporters of the unemployed, or the leaders of justified strikes are being illegally arrested in capitalist countries. The latter has just been done in the United States by President Reagan in the case of the air traffic controllers.

[Words indistinct] RUDE PRAVO writes. At the moment agents who have been exposed by the materials transported in Thonon's Peugeot, [words indistinct] are being investigated in keeping with our laws. [Words indistinct] the secret services in the West would like to protect the remnants of their intelligence center in our country and think that the [word indistinct] campaign will frighten us and that we shall not take steps in line with the law against their paid agents. Such hopes, however, are in vain. In our country Gottwald's creed, "We shall not allow our republic to be disrupted," is still valid, RUDE PRAVO emphasizes today in the conclusion of its article "Dissidents, Hirelings and Worse."

BEIJING INTERFERES IN USSR-AFGHAN BORDER TREATY

AU131235 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Aug 81 p 6

[CTK report: "Provocation of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Attempt to Falsify History"]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Aug (CTK)--In Kabul on 16 June 1981, a treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] on the line of the state border in the sector of the west bank of Zorkul Lake to (Pik Povolosvejkovsky) (the USSR, DRA and PRC border). The treaty legally anchors the existing and guarded line of the Soviet-Afghan border in this sector and thus affirms the principle of the inviolability of borders between the Soviet Union and the DRA.

The issues regulated by this treaty concern only the USSR and the DRA and no one else. However, Beijing, as usual, impertinently interferes in the relations of sovereign states and has attacked this USSR-DRA treaty. On 22 July, a spokesman of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a declaration in which he described the Soviet-Afghan document as "illegal and invalid," because it allegedly concerns the "disputed sector of the Sino-Soviet border in Pamir."

The PRC Government has for a number of years been trying to assert that it has some sort of contractual reason for its claim to a part of Soviet Pamir. However, these reasons never existed and do not exist. The border in this sector came into being historically and has been legally anchored on the basis of the exchange of notes of 1894, when the parties agreed "not to overstep positions which are held by them" in Pamir. That line, and no other, still exists.

Thus the totally unsubstantiated and provocative declaration of the spokesman of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not only evidence of Beijing's big-power endeavor to dictate to sovereign states what bilateral treaties they should or should not conclude, but also evidence of an attempt, by falsifying history, to "prop" the territorial claims of Chinese leaders to neighboring countries.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphatically rejects the illegal claims to Soviet territory and the attempts to interfere in USSR-Afghan relations, and stresses that the declaration of China's spokesman lacks any legal or factual foundation and is therefore of no importance and will have no consequences.

CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER DEPARTS 13 AUGUST

LD131840 Prague CTK in English 1742 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Prague, 13 Aug (CTK)--Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli departed from here on Thursday after his short stay in Czechoslovakia.

PEZLAR VIEWS ANTISOCIALIST LITERARY 'PLURALISM'

AU131435 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Aug 81 p 3

["From the Concluding Speech at the Conference on the Tasks of Literary Criticism After the 16th CPCZ Congress" by Ludovit Pezlar, Presidium member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party's (CPSL) Central Committee: "For Higher Ideological Content of Literary Criticism"; date of conference not given; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] The doctrine on advanced socialism is the strategic foundation of all ideological and political-educational work of both the party and the state and social bodies and organizations. The formulation of tasks for the sphere of literature and literary criticism, too, is derived from this doctrine. IN FACT, IN THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY THE PRINCIPLE OF UNBREAKABLE TIES BETWEEN LITERATURE AND THE LIFE OF SOCIETY HAS ALWAYS BEEN VALID. IN THE PROCESS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM THIS PRINCIPLE IS INCREASINGLY GAINING IN DEPTH AND SIGNIFICANCE.

Life is constantly supplying new proof of the fact that THE INCREASING CLOSENESS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN ALL SPHERES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS HAS BECOME LAW, AND THAT THE TASKS WE NOW HAVE TO RESOLVE ARE INCREASINGLY BECOMING OUR "COMMON" [word in quotation marks published in widespaced boldface] TASKS. This also fully applies to the sphere of art and art criticism.

Why is it necessary to constantly remind people of the broad social connections, within the framework of which the qualitatively new tasks of our literature and literary criticism are currently being formulated?

Because this is somehow frequently forgotten in practice, and the result is that, in determining the tasks, no difference is made between what is essential and what is marginal; and that subjective views prevail rather than well-tried conclusions confirmed by experience and anchored in the party documents. For instance, these tendencies were manifested, apart from many correct and original ideas, in the discussion on topical questions of literary criticism in the pages of the CPSL Central Committee's organ PRAVDA toward the end of last year.

Some speakers in the discussion did not sufficiently take into account the results of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum and the CPSL Central Committee session last April, and tried to proceed from their own, often one-sided notions in shaping qualitatively new tasks for our literature and literary criticism in the present phase of social development. This approach was also evident in the pages of many literary periodicals.

The nature of party resolutions and documents is comprehensive. They are the connecting link which aligns the specific individual spheres of social life within the mainstream of all-social effort. An aversion to a mania for quotations is fully understandable. It is, however, impossible not to see that sometimes the party documents are not quoted because the author of an article or essay, even if he wants to ever so much, is unable to find any connection between his own claims and the current endeavors of our society. But everybody must ask whether it is possible to contribute to fulfilling the exacting all-social tasks if one completely dissociates oneself from the documents in which they are anchored. The answer most certainly cannot be positive.

Discussions on such a complicated and demanding sphere as literary criticism are undoubtedly very necessary; advance and progress is impossible without them. But in the same way there should be no doubt that every discussion must have a foundation, a goal and orientation, that it must make some kind of contribution to the all-social effort.

The party documents passed by the congresses, the resolutions of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committees anchor the long-term, well-thought-out program for the entire sphere of culture and the arts, including literary criticism. IT IS ONLY ON THIS SOUND BASIS THAT POSITIVE EFFORTS CAN BE DEVELOPED--EFFORTS THAT ARE IN HARMONY WITH, AND CONTRIBUTE TO, THE ALL-SOCIAL ORIENTATION. Attempts by certain individuals to ignore these objectively given connections must inevitably end in their own, personal failure. The lessons drawn from the critical period 1968-69 by artists' unions and the editorial collectives of literary magazines have shown that many literary critics started to slither down the slope when they parted ways with the life of the people and ignored social problems and tasks; this logically resulted in their going ideologically and politically astray and in their professional bankruptcy.

It is perhaps well to recall that THE PARTY DOCUMENTS MUST BE APPROACHED COMPREHENSIVELY. It often happens that certain individuals select from them only what suits them, so that the quotations from resolutions are like raisins on the cake of their articles, which they themselves often bake from the worst kind of flour.

It is also necessary to bear in mind the nature of the mass communications medium in which a literary critic or scientist publishes his article: The party press is scarcely the place for abstract essays lacking any connection with the tasks anchored in the documents of the leading party bodies. Literary fermentation is also not aided by wide publicity for personal, frequently very petty, disputes; this also applies to literary periodicals.

Many articles, reviews and appraisals not only fail to orient the writer--in certain instances they can be said to confuse him. The existence of "non-criticizable" authors who get only praise from everybody surely does not testify to a principled approach and can do harm even to outstanding writers.

The current struggle for the quality of literary criticism requires the entire literary-critical front to direct its attention forward, to new tasks. Apart from other things, this means resolutely warding off isolated attempts to constantly revise problems that have already been solved in Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and in practical cultural policy. This applies, for instance, to the question of whether socialist realism is an "open" or a "closed" system.

Although this problem has been resolved by the apprpriate theoretical domestic and foreign literature, although there is no party document that regards socialist realism as a set of immutable norms and instructions, certain individuals are constantly trying to revert to this matter in particular, even though it is definitely not a problem in the current phase of the development of literature and arts.

Nobody intends to revert to past mistakes. But in the same way it is unacceptable to smuggle into this creative style, under the guise of a discussion on whether the nature of socialist realism is "open" or "closed", aesthetic theories that are alien to Marxism-Leninism and socialism; particularly not the concept of so-called "aesthetic pluralism." "Aesthetic pluralism" is part and parcel of the theory of ideological and political "pluralism." Our experience during the critical period of 1968-69, as well as the current events in the Polish People's Republic unambiguously confirm the ideo-subversive, counterrevolutionary significance of such "theories."

Socialist realism expresses the unity of the artist's conviction, world outlook and professional skill. A weakening of this creative style in the socialist countries should, according to the plans of our class and ideological enemies, create scope for the penetration of the bourgeois pseudoculture, which cunningly influences man's feelings and mind, propagating a consumer attitude to life, and individualism and violence. Its mission is ideologically to disorient people, to lead them away from the active fight for progress, to dissuade them from participating in the revolutionary transformation of the world and from the struggle for socialism and communism.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TASKS OF LITERARY CRITICISM AT PRESENT IS TO ESTABLISH BROAD CONDITIONS FOR MAKING FULL USE OF THE CREATIVE POSSIBILITIES OF THE STYLE OF SOCIALIST REALISM; IN THIS RESPECT, TOO, THERE ARE STILL LARGE RESERVES.

Our present struggle for the high standards and effectiveness of art and literary criticism is inseparably tied to the effort to consolidate its socialist nature and to the fight for its higher ideological features. Experience has fully confirmed that, without bearing these features in mind, it is absolutely impossible to speak of the social significance of a work of art. Party and ideological aspects are the invevitable components of the term quality.

Understandably, in such a complicated social organism as literary work there occur, and will continue to occur, instances of ideological wavering among writers, of violations of the principles of party-mindedness and of being close to the people, and even of concilatory attitudes toward bourgeois ideology. In the present world this ideology is often dressed in a literary garb, and even experts, if they are politically not up to scratch, are not always capable of recognizing what actually lies underneath. But these phenomena become a serious problem if they do not encounter resolute opposition from the literary-critical front. One cannot fail to notice that in the present class-divided world the ideological struggle is sharpening and the anticommunist centers are organizing frontal attacks on our literature, our artists' unions and the most prominent representatives of our culture and arts--attacks combined with slander, bribery and efforts to win over ideologically and morally unstable individuals. Our enemies are constantly perfecting this extensive mechanism of insidious influence and exapnding the arsenal of the means it uses against us. TODAY MORE THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST IT IS TRUE THAT LITERATURE DOES NOT STAND IN THE SIDELINES, BUT AT THE CENTER OF THINGS, IN THE MAELSTROM OF THE SHARP IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IN TODAY'S WORLD. LITERARY CRITICISM CANNOT FORGET THESE CONNECTIONS FOR A SINGLE MOMENT.

One cannot ignore that new generations are entering literature and literary criticism, who are not familiar, from their own experience, with the sharp class battles our people have waged under the Communist Party's leadership for their national and class liberation.

For certain young people even the critical period of 1968-69 is quite distant, and known to them only from textbooks. The task of devoting careful attention to their ideological preparation and political maturity is all the more urgent.

The question of the ideological aspects of our literature is closely bound up with the problem of the "positive" hero. Certain individuals are nevertheless painstakingly avoiding this term. But it has great significance. Experience confirms that the best of the supreme masterpieces of socialist literature have always fascinated people by the figures of heroes fighting for the victory of progress.

Recently we have been able to encounter isolated voices saying that socialist literary science and criticism can be developed while avoiding the use of Marxist-Leninist terminology. It is surely superfluous to comment on that opinion, because it is quite clear that terminology itself has a poetic and identifying significance.

Some of our authors and critics are warning against possible dogmatic and sectarian approaches to literature. Experience gained with patterns set in advance, which are meant to cover life in all its complexity and its many facets, is surely not good. It would also be incorrect to underestimate sectarian approaches. But it is hard to agree with a situation, when precisely those who criticize this extreme seem frequently to forget another, far graver danger--rightwing revisionism and opportunism. Our scientific workers have not yet worked out a comprehensive monography which would cover the entire range of the detrimental role played by rightwing opportunism in the critical period 1968-69 in the sphere of literary science and criticism. We are still feeling the lack of such a fundamental study. We owe it particularly to our young generation. Not only our own experience, but also that of the entire international communist movement confirms that rightwing opportunism and revisionism never were, and are not, a cure for dogmatism and sectarian tendencies. Never, in either literature or in any social sphere, could they produce a program for a positive solution to problems. In substance they always signified a capitulation to the bourgeois ideology. This is also fully confirmed by the role played by the bearers of rightwing opportunism in today's Polish People's Republic.

In the past period, within the framework of the differentiation process, many of those who had in the past ideologically and politically betrayed the noble mission of socialist writer, poet or dramatist, again took up literary work. Some of them also returned to the ranks of the party. The experience acquired to date has unambiguously confirmed that the differentiated approach is correct. It is an important task of literary criticism to assist the correct orientation of these individuals, so that they will again find their place in our literary fermentation process and avoid repeating their past mistakes. Sporadic attempts to welcome their return with blaring trumpets are as harmful as a sectarian approach to them.

THE STYLE OF SOCIALIST REALISM DRAWS A TRUTHFUL PICTURE OF OUR LIFE IN ALL ITS COMPLEXITY AND CONTRADICTORY FEATURES. IT DOES NOT EXCLUDE--ON THE CONTRARY, IT ENVISAGES--A CRITICAL ATTITUDE TO REALITY. In this connection, the CPSL Central Committee session last April pointed out that great significance of developing satirical works. Of course, one must keep in mind that there is a line dividing the positive fight against shortcomings, errors and mistakes, and the attempts to abuse them to slander real socialism. This dividing line must be borne in mind not only by literary, but also by all art, criticism. The main thing always is how, in whose name and with what purpose an author critically describes the negative phenomena. It must also not be forgotten that people abroad often form the idea of our society according to the way it is pictured in works of art.

The complexity of this task lies in the fact that, on the one hand, we must resolutely ward off attempts to suppress the criticism of malfeasances; and on the other hand, oppose attempts to abuse this inevitable struggle to slander our society and imbue its people with feelings of hopelessness and impotence that are foreign to them.

The successful development of literary work in the next few years and its contribution to the building efforts of our people will greatly depend on how successfully we implement in life the suggestions for literary criticism from the line adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress and the resolutions of the CPSL Congress.

PRACE SAYS MANAGERS RESPONSIBLE FOR DISCIPLINE

LD101044 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 10 Aug 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The daily PRACE deals with work discipline in its commentary entitled "A Harmful Tolerance." The author of the article stresses that almost all leading management workers and trade union officials recognize the need to strengthen work discipline. This is understandable since 85-90 percent of working time in our country is utilized. Less understandable, however, is the fact that concrete measures against malpractices have not been adopted everywhere and that such measures are benevolently disregarded in many places. Some leading management workers argue that if trade union organizations improved their educational activity and specifically pilloried instances of late arrivals for work or early departures or the extension of breaks, much would be improved. Trade union officials, on the other hand point out that it is management workers who must primarily ensure that working time is observed. There is a grain of truth on both sides. Both partners have the opportunity to prevent violations of working discipline. It is, however, the foremen and the heads who must have the first word.

BRIEFS

INDIAN AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL--The Indian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Krishna Kumar Rana, paid farewell visits, in connection with the termination of his diplomatic mission in Czechoslovakia, to Peter Colotka, the Slovak premier, and Anna Kretova, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 10 Aug 81 LD]

PROTOCOL WITH ROMANIA--A protocol on expanding and deepening scientific-technical cooperation in the production of measuring and control instruments and industrial lasers was signed between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania in Karlovy Vary yesterday by L. Supka, federal minister of technological and investment promotion, and by Ioan Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 81 p 2 AU]

NEW HUNGARIAN BORDER CROSSING--A new, round-the-clock border crossing to Hungary was opened in Kral in the Rimavska Sobota District on 30 July. The Kral border crossing replaces the Lenartovce crossing, which has been closed down. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 81 p 2 AU]

COLOTKA VISIT--Peter Colotka, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Slovak premier, visited the district of Spisska Nova Ves today. Accompanied by the minister of agriculture and food of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Jan Janovic, he acquainted himself with the progress of summer agricultural work in the cooperatives of Spissky Stvrtok, Smizany and Odorin. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 7 Aug 81 LD]

FURTHER COVERAGE OF BERLIN WALL ANNIVERSARY

DW131630 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1402 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Speech by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the workers militia rally in East Berlin--live]

[Text] Comrade fighters, comrade members of the armed forces, dear people of Berlin, esteemed guests:

With this powerful militant roll call we observe today in a festive form the day on which, 20 years ago in keeping with a decision of the Warsaw Pact, a border system was introduced around West Berlin which guaranteed reliable control and which effectively foiled the imperialist subversive activity against the socialist countries. Two decades full of events have passed since 13 August 1961. Those who were 10 years old and children at the time, are today in full bloom of life.

It is permissible to state with satisfaction that as a result of the construction of the antifascist protective wall, we insured the protection of our socialist achievements--the socialist achievements of the worker-peasant power--and at the same time made a great contribution to peace. [applause]

August 13 will forever be a date which marks the opening of a new chapter in the history of our republic and of Europe. Allow me on this occasion to convey most cordial, fraternal militant greetings to you, the participants in this impressive manifestation, on behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council and Council of Ministers. [applause]

As all of you know, a great deal was at stake for world peace in the summer of 1961. The most aggressive circles of imperialism in the FRG and other NATO states at the time massively attempted to put dreams of D-Day into practice. They made no bones about their goal being the rolback of socialism and the elimination of worker-peasant power on German soil. In their delusion they already saw the Bundeswehr marching through the Brandenburg Gate to the music of a band, as they themselves said. But this came to naught. The militia of the workers class, the units of the GDR National People's Army, the border troops of the German People's Police took charge of the control of the state border of our GDR to West Berlin and reinforced the protection of the border with the FRG.

In this way 13 August 1961 became a black day for the eastward crusaders. It was made clear once and for all that the GDR is a pillar of peace in Europe. [applause] Imperialism was prevented from further sticking its hands into our pockets to enrich itself from the diligence of our people as it had done for years when the border was open. It became plain to everyone that the GDR is a sovereign and independent socialist state in which the people themselves decide their destiny.

Peace was saved through the measures of 13 August 1961. The imperialists were shown the limits of their power. Our GDR has strengthened further since then under the leadership of the SED and through the concerted action of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front. Profound changes for the better have taken place in the life of the people. The significant headway in shaping and forming the developed socialist society, the rise of our national economy, and the bloom of science and culture testify to this. We are successfully implementing the hitherto greatest sociopolitical program with its main element--housing construction.

The material and cultural standard of living of the people has tangibly improved, and we are determined to continue consistently on this course of the unity of economic and social policies, in keeping with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. The positive results in plan fulfillment during the first half of 1981 show that the working people are supporting our policy through great performances.

The close relationship of confidence between party and people continues to be the source of our strength and the guarantee for the attainment of our common and great goals. [applause]

Dear friends and comrades, our struggle for socialism and peace is being waged from solid positions. Our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is unshakable. The historical significance of this friendship alliance of free peoples once again found expression during my meeting this year in the Crimea with our friend and comrade, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. We were able to state that the 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress opened new horizons for the all-round cooperation of our two countries. Correspondingly, we will in this 5-year period essentially expand cooperation in production and will implement significant joint projects.

In the field of foreign policy, we regard the safeguarding of peace as the central task. Anyone who still harbors doubts about the necessity of this task is being taught better by the U.S. decision to construct the neutron bomb. This decision, made on the very day when 36 years ago the first U.S. atom bomb exploded over Hiroshima and erased more than 200,000 human lives, constitutes a challenge to all those in the world to whom a peaceful life for the peoples is the holiest treasure. [applause]

What matters especially now in the interest of a peaceful future for mankind is utilizing every opportunity to ban the atom bomb and nuclear weapons and to achieve agreements on arms control and disarmament. I would like to repeat here what I stated in the Crimea together with Comrade Brezhnev: What Europe needs is not replenishment of the arsenals with arms from overseas, but reduction of all aspects of the arms race, especially that of nuclear arms; it is not confrontation as pursued by NATO with its stepped-up armament and its Brussels missile decision, but peace and mutually advantageous cooperation which form the fundamental interest of the peoples.

This is also clearly expressed by the strong growth of the peace movement in many capitalist countries. If aggressive imperialist quarters believe that they can share the existing power ratio in the world and in Europe, they will suffer the same fiasco they did on 13 August 1961. [applause]

Comrade fighters, members of the armed forces, in view of the machinations of imperialism which are hostile to peace, it is and remains our duty to constantly guarantee the defense readiness of our republic at the required level and not to allow anyone to infringe upon the achievements of our people and upon the GDR state border. [applause]

Our people can state with joy that the members of the militia of the workers class are standing in the foremost ranks of those who are achieving outstanding feats in production as well as in the protection of the socialist homeland. You, comrade fighters, embody the unity of peaceful work and reliable armed protection of the socialist GDR.

In the socialist competition of the workers militia units, you are working, in accordance with the targets of competition, toward attaining results which properly fit into the series of initiatives of the working people for the implementation of the national economic plan for 1981. Your performance in combat training and the high degree of readiness for action on the part of all units deserve great recognition. We are aware that you sacrifice many hours of your leisure time for this purpose. We include in our esteem your wives and girlfriends who support you with their understanding.

Side by side with you the members of the National People's Army and of all GDR armed forces fulfill the responsible class mandate of the 10th party congress. For this constant and loyal compliance with duty, and for the high level of readiness for action and combat, I express to you the cordial gratitude of the GDR party-state leadership. [applause]

Dear comrades, dear people of Berlin, it is generally known that history is a good teacher.

It has proven that the existence and stable development of the first state of workers and peasants of German soil can be neither touched nor shaken. By implementing the goals adopted by the 10th SED Congress, we strengthen the GDR in every respect, and augment and protect the great revolutionary achievements of our people in the closest alliance with the Soviet Union and all fraternal socialist countries.

Long live and flourish our socialist fatherland, the GDR! [applause] Long live the struggle for peace and socialism! [applause, cheers]

Border Guards Honored

LD131322 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0928 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin, 13 Aug (ADN)--To mark the 20th anniversary of building the antifascist bastion [Berlin Wall], wreaths and bouquets were laid today at memorials and graves of border troops who were murdered while doing their duty to protect the GDR state border.

During the morning, soldiers, NCO's, officer cadets and officers paid tribute to their unforgotten comrades at the memorial to the GDR Border Guards who fell on the state border with West Berlin. Delegations of workers joined them there. In front of the granite stone which bears the inscription "Your Death Gives Us an Obligation," where members of combat groups of the working class formed an honor guard, they laid flower wreaths in tribute to Sgt Helmut Just, NCO's Peter Goe:ing, Reinhold Huhn, Siegfried Widera, Joergen Schmidtchen, Egon Schultz, Rolf Henniger and Ullrich Steinhauer.

Delegations and border troop units, together with relatives, representatives of local party and state organs, and delegations from plants and sponsoring schools in GDR bezirke and the GDR capital, paid tribute to those who were murdered. In Berlin they laid flowers at the last resting place of NCO Klaus-Peter Seidel at the Oberschoeneweide Cemetery.

In Schierke, Harz Bezirk, tribute was paid to Lt Lutz Meier, who was murdered in a cowardly manner on this section of the border with the FRG on 18 January, 1972.

Together with border soldiers, the citizens of Werdau visited the grave of NCO Juergen Lange.

In Erfurt Cemetery's Garden of Remembrance, delegations paid tribute to the memory of Capt Rudi Arnstadt, who was a victim of an armed attack on 14 August, 1962.

NCO cadets and officers of the "Egon Schultz" NCO's School of the GDR Border Guards paid tribute to Egon Schultz, whose example they were following at his grave in Rostock.

AMBASSADOR MUELLER MEETS WITH FRG SENAT MEMBER

AU131022 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Aug 81 p 2

[Text] West Berlin (ADN)--On 11 August, Ambassador Walter Mueller, delegate of the GDR Government, and Gerhard Kunze, delegate of the West Berlin Senat, held talks. In the talks, in which questions of mutual interest were discussed, the new Senat's attention was drawn to its responsibility to further improve the situation concerning West Berlin and the strict observance of the Quadripartite Agreement of 3 September 1971 in Berlin (West).

The GDR representative resolutely protested against the continued attacks on the GDR state border and the GDR railroad in West Berlin as well as against other hostile activities against the GDR.

It was demanded that the responsible authorities in West Berlin undertake the necessary measures in the interest of detente and the further improvement of relations to stop such actions. Attempts by the Senat representative to interfere in the internal affairs of the GDR were rejected.

DRESDEN COURT SENTENCES 'AGENT' OF DAWID GANG

AU131038 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Aug 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 11 August, the Dresden Bezirk Court sentenced Berlin (West) inhabitant Peter Marquardt to 9 years imprisonment for crimes under section 105 of the penal code connected with the abuse of the transit agreement. As a paid agent of the criminal Dawid gang, he repeatedly participated in organizing and carrying out subversive actions against GDR transit routes. Marquardt was hired by the leading gang member, Harald Thiele, and instructed to plan these crimes. To deceive and divert the border control organs, the agent had several persons from West Berlin accompany him in his car and also unscrupulously involved a seriously ill woman, in need of care, in his crimes. Several times on his trips he recklessly endangered the lives and health of other travelers by speeding. In order to obtain recruiting premiums, Marquardt tried to hire additional agents for the criminal Dawid gang in West Berlin restaurants. The car used for the crime--a "VW" with licence plate B-TJ 51--was impounded.

TRADE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED WITH KAMPUCHEA

LD131822 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Phnom Penh, 13 Aug (ADN)--A trade and payments agreement between the GDR and Kampuchea was concluded in Phnom Penh on Wednesday. It covers the period until 1985 and provides for the gradual development and extension of trade and services.

The GDR will supply Kampuchea, among other things, with trucks, chemical and pharmaceutical products, medical and communications produce.

The government agreement is an important contribution to the implementation of the treaty of friendship and cooperation that was concluded between the two states last year.

BRIEFS

COPPER WIRE PRODUCTION--Without increasing the material input the Mansfeld combine has found ways of producing 271,000 km of fine copper wire more this year than it turned out in 1980. The production of aluminum foil shows a similar trend. Jointly with Soviet partners the combine has developed, for example, a process for casting aluminum strip. The highly modern continuous casting-rolling technology for copper wire combines all phases in one processing stage, thus entailing a considerable reduction in energy and labor input. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0504 GMT 11 Aug 81 DW]

WIRE ROLLING MILL--An automatic wire rolling mill train has started full trial operations in the Brandenburg steel and rolling mill. This 240- meter automatic wire-rolling mill train is the first of its type in the GDR. The new installation automatically rolls structural steel. Thick blocks of steel are rolled down to rod snakes with diameters from 5 to 9 millimeters which leave the rolling train at a speed of 70 meters per second. Considering the time lead attained in the assembly of the installation it will be possible to produce 220,000 tons of structural steel in excess of this year's plan. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 11 Aug 81 DW]

KANIA, JARUZELSKI DEPART WARSAW FOR MOSCOW 14 AUG

LD140932 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0906 GMT 14 Aug 81

[S. Kania and W. Jaruzelski Have Left for Moscow--PAP headline]

[Text] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for the Soviet Union today on a short working visit.

At Warsaw airport the delegation was seen off by members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, the Council of State and government. Soviet Charge Minister-Counsellor Vasiliy Svirin was also present.

CIOSEK PRESENTS GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON SOLIDARITY

LD132340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1909 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Statement by the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs read by Trade Union Relations Minister Stanislaw Ciosek--live or recorded]

[Text] On 13 August of this year at a session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity, several resolutions, statements and an appeal to union members were adopted. The Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs sees some positive elements in these documents.

Public opinion was expecting Solidarity's national forum to decide to reorientate the direction of the union's activity toward a practical solution of problems and action being undertaken to help resolve the crisis. The government has always called for a step toward the realities of live in the country and the urgent social needs.

The KKP documents also bear traces of an appreciation of the government's undertakings aimed at achieving reforms. Although the KKP in its resolutions adopted to date expresses groundless criticism of the government and tries to sow doubts about the efficiency of the state's action, nevertheless the fact that the KKP notices the progress of work aimed at achieving reform constitutes a positive phenomenon since the leadership of this organization has in most cases negated the value of the work by state bodies.

Other similar elements arousing hopes that they are abandoning the stance of a sterile opposition to necessary steps are the recognition, albeit conditional, of the need for prices reform, and the appeal for abstaining from strikes and street demonstrations, including the political demonstration called the star march. The government committee had particular reasons for demanding that such an attitude be adopted.

We welcome with appreciation the joining of NSZZ Solidarity in the fight against profiteering, and we share the KKP's opinion to the effect that the elimination of its causes is of key importance here, and, above all, that the decline in production be halted. The government has long urged Solidarity to act in this direction.

We consider it useful that the KKP expressed its understanding of the great difficulties facing the population in the satisfaction of basic needs, of the necessity to carry on with supplies to industry, and finally of the demands of the country's balance sheet; and that it decided to appeal to its members, to members of the union, to make a sacrifice of some free Saturdays and slate them for work.

The Council of Ministers committee also considers that such a temporary necessity unfortunately exists and recalls that the government noted this and appealed for it long ago. We state that it will be necessary to coordinate the organizational and economic conditions of additional work on Saturdays so that this work and the distribution of its effects will not contravene either the legal order of the economy or the demands of surveillance and control of the apparatus of [words indistinct].

We learn with satisfaction that Solidarity understands the need to increase the price of bread. If the union needs more time for social consultations, for the time being it will be possible to pay compensation as proposed by the government and next to modify the system if necessary in accordance with the proposals of all trade unions.

The Council of Ministers committee has lived to see the KKP's partial understanding of the importance of the increase in coal extraction. We have been arguing for this for a long time and we have always expressed the view, now adopted by the KKP, that the workforces of mines and coal basins as a whole should have priority as regards food supplies. If the KKP had shared this view of the government earlier we would probably have avoided the great decline in coal extraction. However, the government wishes to point out that the liquidation of supplementary pay for miners for working on free Saturdays was precisely the result of demands by NSZZ Solidarity.

We confirm the positive attitude of the state authorities toward Solidarity's participation, together with other trade unions and social organizations, in the social control of product trade, particularly food. This useful idea must be realized in accordance with the existing regulations and without infringements of the prerogatives of the economic administration. All sorts of union participation in improving the efficiency of trade, contract purchasing and food trading will be extremely useful. The state authorities will gladly support this sort of activity.

A proposal contained in the KKP appeal to the effect that the demands of the working people be expressed in the present situation in a form other than strikes has long been expected by the state authorities and the weary community. We also point out that the effects of our actions aimed at extricating the economy from the crisis depend not only on the authorities, not only on the systems of management or regulations, but, in other words, on ways of organizing collective work. Yet the government is convinced that it is a pity to waste the community's energy in overcoming the obstacles mounted by Solidarity cells, among others--obstacles to actions which are regarded as useful by the union in general.

The Council of Ministers committee confirms its critical evaluation of the attitude of many Solidarity echelons and their activities, which was expressed in the published speech by Deputy Premier Miechyslaw Rakowski which he delivered during the government-union talks on 3 August of this year.

It also supports in full the demands presented to the KKP Presidium on 6 August, which have also been published. We will not depart from the rules drawn up in them, and we are not withdrawing our views of the KKP which have been frankly expressed until the changes in the actions of the union leadership and of some of its cells give us reason to change.

The government view on the unacceptable manner in which the talks were broken off by the KKP on 6 August of this year also remains unchanged. The Council of Ministers committee notes with satisfaction each, even the smallest, fact which confirms the existence in the KKP of the will for agreement, based on a solid and honest attitude toward the evaluation of the state of the country and the state of the economy.

There is, however, a duty incumbent on the committee to correct the opinions contained in the KKP documents which, if left unanswered, threaten new conflicts because opinions and evaluations must be in agreement with the facts. Despite the KKP statement, the government does not represent any political forces which for some decades have remained unchanged and which are responsible for the crisis.

The political forces, and above all the PZPR, are resolving the fundamental social and national problems faced by Poland in accordance with the interest of the nation. Some of them are the following: nationalization of industry, the giving of land to farmers, the securing of the historically correct borders by strong and lasting alliances, [words indistinct]. Identification of the government and the political forces which support the government exclusively with the temporary crisis must be perceived by every objectively thinking Pole as taking unfair advantage of the feelings of the community.

Although the true state of affairs is universally known, the Council of Ministers committee must recall once again that there is no one in Poland who is imprisoned for political beliefs. Such a state arose in our country before the Gdansk agreement [as heard]. The right to holding and expressing political convictions different from the political line of the state must not, however, be abused in order to undertake organized political activity outside the law directed at overthrowing the socialist state. Whoever undertakes such an activity breaks the law and must bear the consequences, and he should have a chance to defend himself but not have the guarantee of being above the law.

The KKP statement once again deepens the misunderstanding surrounding these matters, confusing the right to expression of views with lawlessness achieved by the use of force. Increasingly the Solidarity cells disregard the law, the institution of courts and other state organs. Such a line of action ought to be abandoned, because it is fraught with the danger of repeating bad experiences from our history. All steps undertaken by the authorities, which initiated investigation into illegal activities which had political motives, have been directed only toward restoring respect for the law and the binding social agreements.

Threatening the government with strikes when it is fighting against anarchic activities, against mass production of antistate and anti-Soviet publications, or against the undermining of the political model of the state [as heard]. There is an obvious discrepancy between intentions declared in the KKP documents and true political aims. Overcoming this discrepancy will require, according to the government, efforts by the whole union which at present is pushed by many factions in the wrong direction, the direction dangerous to the life of the community.

The government, in spite of its good will, cannot accept the excuses that in its international contacts the trade union leadership always considers the interests of the state and the nation. We know about the facts, which have only been published in part, of making statements, granting interviews and undertaking other practical steps which infringe the interests of the state and in particular its international reputation. If such phenomena have been forgotten by the KKP it will be possible to inform the public in a special publication about the most significant cases of infringement of the principles, interests and the letter of the law which regulates this sector of our collective interests.

It is true that in its last resolution Solidarity leadership, just as in its statute, states that it does not intend to play the role of a political party. But the program formulated at the same time proves that the Solidarity leadership wants to lead the union along the road of political contradiction with a number of fundamental principles of a socialist state. We cannot accept the usurping of the function of the only guarantor of the social justice. Such attitudes are proven, for instance, by the demands for elections to the Sejm and the People's Council, which strike at the legally elected authorities of the Polish state.

Solidarity activists declare to the government that they do not want to be a political party and are not engaged in an activity of this sort. However, only the government receives such assurances. The public and union members are presented with political aspirations, as proven by the discussion on the union's program published recently in the SOLIDARNOSC weekly.

We wish to note that some positive elements which we find in the KKP resolutions of (?13) August now indicate that a convergence of attitudes was possible during the negotiation and that this could have been expressed in a joint communique. In the face of such a statement it is difficult not to gain the impression that the KKP believes that any showing of understanding for the government stance during the joint talks is less profitable for the Solidarity leadership than individual declarations.

The Council of Ministers committee does not understand this tactic and is always ready to stress the fact that talks bear fruit and are effective whenever they take place. We believe that if it did likewise the KKP would prove to the community, better than by using strikes and demonstrations, that while it expresses the will of its members it has a constructive influence on the social and economic policy of the government.

The government in accordance with the spirit of the Ninth PZPR Congress will continue to act for the sake of the social accord and constructive cooperation. It always remains open to such ideas.

TU ACCUSED OF 'MISLEADING' DEMANDS FOR MEDIA ACCESS

LD132326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Aug 81

[PAP commentary by [name indistinct]

[Text] In Solidarity communiques and statements a demand is made for the trade union's access to the mass media. This is a statement which is misleading because it suggests that there is no such access. The fact is that one cannot demand more than to open wider the access which already is wide enough. Solidarity has gained consent to publish all (?its) weeklies, including one of national scope and one fortnightly publication. The national periodical is published in 500,000 copies, which is considerably higher than, for instance, POLITYKA weekly [words indistinct] which for some years has had a lower number of copies published than desirable. [Name indistinct], the central organ of the West German trade unions, whose number of employees is twice the number in Poland, is published in fewer than 100,000 copies.

Among new titles which appeared this year in Poland, most paper has been given to Solidarity, partly at the cost of a drastic reduction in numbers of very popular weeklies which have been published for years and are very difficult to obtain. Apart from its periodicals, Solidarity has gained access to the press which, apart from giving a lot of space to trade union matters and publishing Solidarity's communiques, statements and even electoral lists, also conducts talks and interviews with Solidarity activists. Such interviews are also published by weeklies. Apart from th extensive information about Solidarity resolutions and activities made public by radio and television, Solidarity activists are taking part in many television and radio programs, speaking about matters of their union and making statements. A number of dailies have introduced permanent trade union sections, which are filled with texts supplied by Solidarity employees.

If one adds to this that [words indistinct] bulletins and inside factories, an avalanche of leaflets and posters, any objective observer will reach the conclusion that the history of the international trade union movement does not know of any case of such great access to the mass media gained by a trade union.

That is why presenting the case as if Solidarity were deprived of a chance to make statements is nothing but being irresponsible toward public opinion.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON PZPR, SOLIDARITY RESOLUTIONS

LD131428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 13 Aug 81

[From the press review]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU carries a commentary by Jerzy Bielecki entitled: Two Trends. I will give you the commentary in its entirety. Jerzy Bielecki writes:

At the second plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which met on 11 August, the current situation in Poland was discussed with great disquiet. In many speeches and also in the approved resolution, profound concern for the country's future was expressed, in conditions where specific forces are trying to disorganize the constructive activity of the party and the government which are aimed at getting the country out of the crisis.

After the plenum the 3-day session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity ended. It was followed with interest by society. The final decisions and resolutions indicate a measure of return by the KKP to realistic thinking. Among the resolutions and appeals were formulations which could show that the union is genuinely concerned about ways of getting out of the crisis. This is no longer--as was the case more than once --only something to counter the government proposals. The appeal for eight working Saturdays in the current year will meet, we hope, with a positive response above all from mining workforces and other factories producing goods and foodstuffs which are in short supply. The additional production is socially and exceptionally necessary.

At the same time, there may be doubts and unnecessary conflicts caused by the unclear wording of the decisions concerning production organization and control over the goods produced [words indistinct]. It seems also that the KKP decision concerning comprehensive economic reform and the price operations linked with this, can be seen as constructive. The document uses, among others, the wording: Let us save ourselves. Yes! The reform and price operations do not so much go half-way to meet the demands, because they are painful operations, but strive to preserve and then perfect the country's economic substance; to create conditions for a start to getting out of the crisis.

Nobody can doubt that matters of self-government, independence and self-financing of enterprises play a capital role in these activities and that Solidarity is, in fact, accenting this. So much the better for the cause.

The (?third) standpoint of the KKP also contains a great deal of realism in assessing the country's current sociopolitical situation. This applies, for example, to the statement about the lack of justification at the present moment for protest actions, in view of the country's food situation. We should expect that facts will follow declarations. The appeal to the organizers of the so-called star march in defense of political prisoners for its temporary suspension should also be recognized (?as) political realism.

However, there is also another trend in the documents of the KKP. I would call it a trend of unconquered suspicion about the intentions and decisions of the authorities; violent reactions in cases where statements are made which differ from those of Solidarity. They then talk about attacks on the union; there are declarations about the use of all accessible means; the next accusations directed at the government are drawn up. The KKP announces a protest action consisting of stopping [word indistinct] the publication and distribution of newspapers; and therefore a printers' and Ruch employees' strike. How can this be reconciled with (?initial) activity to promote a calming of emotions? It would be a good thing if the mutual criticism and differences of opinion were seen as something normal and natural. I am convinced that the philosophy of digging in and repulsing imaginary attacks is of no service to anything. It is in conflict with the line of agreement which, with some difficulty, has been making a way for itself for a year now.

CIOSEK FAILS TO RESOLVE KATOWICE PRINTING ISSUE

LD132216 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] The public prosecutor in Katowice renewed verbally and in writing the warning to the Katowice iron and steel works that the printing by the local branch of Solidarity and distribution of supplements to the bulletin WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC [The Free Trade Unionist]--containing anti-Soviet material--violates the stipulations of the penal code.

The warning not only was completely ignored, but in addition the printing of a new bulletin started which contains even more damaging, antistate material.

PAP reports that the telegraphic interventions made in this connection by Minister Ciosek to the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity in Gdansk and to the chairman of Solidarity of the Silesia Basin region, also failed to achieve a positive result. PAP adds that further steps will be taken designed to restore a state of affairs conforming to the law.

WARSAW 'STAR MARCH' PLAN LOSES SUPPORTERS

Illegality of March

LD131906 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] In the voivodship office in Bydgoszcz a meeting took place today between representatives of the voivodship's administrative authorities and representatives of the Bydgoszcz Regional Committee for the Defense of Those Imprisoned for Their Convictions [Regionalny Komitet Obrony Uwiezionych za Przekonanie--RKOUP].

Zygmunt Tylicki, Bydgosczc deputy voivoda, presented the government's stance toward organizing the so-called star march. He asked whether the march organizers still insist on carrying it out after the decision of NSZZ Solidarity's National Consultative Commission [KKP].

In reply the chairman of the Bydgoszcz RKOUP, Dr Andrzej Czechowicz, stated that he interpreted the KKP decision as a line which dissuades but does not forbid organizing the above-mentioned march, and that organizational activities are still being conducted.

The voivodship's deputy prosecutor, Jozef [surname indistinct], informed those gathered about the legal bases which render this type of action illegal. At the end of the meeting the Bydgoszcz voivoda's decision was handed out to the RKOUP members. I quote this decision in full:

The Bydgoszcz voivoda has decided: (1) to ban the activity of the association called the Bydgoszcz RKOUP; and (2) to disallow and ban the convening and taking place on Bydgoszcz Voivodship territory of the protest march under the slogan of freeing political prisoners, which is to take place in the month of August 1981.

By way of justification we read: The activity of the Bydgoszcz RKOUP as an association which has not been legalized--it has no registration--is against the law and violates the regulations of the law on associations. For organizing and holding a protest march under the slogan of freeing political prisoners, permission is required from the organs of state administration. The organizers of the march have not obtained such permission.

In view of the fact that the protest march is organized by an illegal association, the calling and holding of the march contradict the general interests of the community. The march threatens the peace [word indistinct] safety and pulbic order as well as contravenes the regulations of the directive of the ministers of transportation and internal affairs concerning traffic on public roads.

Moreover, calling an assembly without required permission is liable to penal sanction according to article 52, paragraph 1 of the misdemeanor code. In view of the important interests of the community and the threat to safety and public order, as well as owing to the need for immediate action, the decision has been given an authorization [klauzula] of immediate execution.

AT present the national congress of the RKOUP is taking place in Warsaw. This congress, as announced by the Bydgoszcz committee, intends to make a decision today on the matter of organizing the march.

March Likely To Be Canceled

NC131853 Paris AFP in English 1843 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text Warsaw, 13 Aug (AFP)--A "march for the liberation of political prisoners" scheduled to begin on Monday will probably be cancelled, union sources said here today.

Such a development seemed likely after the Solidarity union's influential Warsaw section, Mazowsze, said it was backing the appeal by Solidarity's national leadership to drop the march, arguing that it could "increase tension in the country unnecessarily."

Other regional branches of Solidarity, notably in Gdansk, Katowice, Wroclaw, Bialystok and Bydgoszcz, have already announced they will not participate.

The march would have begun in major cities and converged on the capital on August 22, in a demonstration in favor of the three jailed leaders of a dissident organization, the anti-communist Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The idea of the march had been launched by an independent student union and a special national committee working in favour of the three jailed men.

Student Union Will March

NC141244 Paris AFP in English 1223 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Aug (AFP)--Poland's student union NZS [Independent Students Union] is going ahead with a "march for the liberation of political prisoners" it has called for next Monday--in spite of an appeal to suspend the demonstration from Solidarity, the national confederation of independent unions.

NZS sources said today that the march--to petition the release of three imprisoned members of the dissident "Confederation for an Independent Poland"--would set out from a number of towns in a 100km (60-mile) radius of Warsaw and arrive in the capital on Saturday Aug 22.

After meeting in Gdansk on Wednesday, Solidarity's national leadership urged the NZS and the national ad hoc committee co-sponsoring the march to suspend it on the grounds that the demonstration would "increase tension unnecessarily in the country."

Yesterday Solidarity's influential Warsaw section, Mazowsze, announced that it, too, backed the appeal to drop the march after other sections in Gdansk, Katowice, Wroclaw, Bialystok, and Bydgoszcz had made it clear they would not participate.

UPDATE ON LOCAL SOLIDARITY STRIKE PREPARATIONS

Radom Votes To Continue Alert

LD132115 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] The Radom region factory commissions of NSZZ Solidarity held a plenary meeting in Radom today. After a debate of several hours, chaired by chairman of the Interfactory Workers' Committee Andrzej Sobieraj, those present voted openly for the continuation of the strike alert in the Radom region.

They demand that the investigation conducted by the voivodship public prosecution office in Radom, in connection with the publication of the bulletin "The Radom June 76," be discontinued and that talks between the government commission and the Interfactory Workers' Committee of Solidarity be resumed.

Sieradz Calls Off Strike Alert

LD131934 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] The Sieradz regional Solidarity board held an extraordinary session today. Representatives of factory Solidarity organizations also attended.

During the 7-hour session the board assessed the social situation in Sieradz Voivodship and examined a report on the National Consultative Commission [KKP] session. It was decided to call off, as of 0800 tomorrow, the strike readiness maintained in Sieradz Voivodship since 5 August. The regional board approved the appeal of the KKP of Solidarity and expressed support for the call to work on eight free Saturdays this year.

Strike Readiness Off in Opole

LD141048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Opole correspondent's dispatch]

[Text] At 0800 this morning, the state of strike readiness declared by the Opole Silesia regional board of NSZZ Solidarity was called off.

The resolution also notes the need for support for all initiatives of the workforces in enterprises, aimed at creating authentic employees' self-government; an appeal to the organizers of the star march to postpone its debate; and also a motion to guarantee union activists the right to reply, and to enable them to present Solidarity's views in the press and on radio and television.

GDYNIA WORKERS CONTINUE TO BOYCOTT FOOD EXPORTS

LD141300 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Text] [No dateline received] Despite the resolutions of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity recommending that strike actions connected with food shortages should be ended, the boycott of meat exports--undertaken by the Solidarity works commission in the port of Gdynia--is still in progress.

The loading of 75 tons of sugar cubes onto ships has also been refused. During the KKP session the Gdansk regional board adopted a solution on continuing the selective strike against the export of meat and meat products, as well as the strike covering the production of these goods.

The resolution also states that it is necessary to strive toward extending this action to other regions, and to consider the possibility of including other goods in the selective strike.

PRINTERS TU CONDEMNS PLANNED STRIKE 19-20 AUGUST

LD141158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Text] In connection with the resolution adopted by the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk, and with the possible announcement that there will be no newspapers 19-20 August throughout the country, the main board of the independent self-governing trade union of printing employees has published a statement in which it says that it does not support such an action and utterly dissociates itself from it.

We consider, the statement says, that at the present moment any protest action serves no one and no purpose. Our community must not be deprived of daily information, particularly in our country's present situation which is so difficult.

The independent self-governing trade union of printing employees has appealed to printers not to join the announced protest action.

SOSNOWIEC PROSECUTOR INVESTIGATES ILLEGAL DETENTION

LD131455 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] The regional prosecutor's office in Sosnowiec reports it is conducting an investigation into the imprisonment and detention under guard of the Sosnowiec coal mine management during the 7 August strike organized by the Silesian-Dabrowa regional board of NSZZ Solidarity.

The interrogation of Wojciech (Figiel), chairman of the works commission of Solidarity, and chairman of the coal mine strike committee, has ended. The prosecutor accuses him of personally making the decision and of directing a group of persons from the strike committee, who isolated the coal mine management, making it impossible for them to carry out their official duties.

According to the law, this deed is punishable. Further interrogation of witnesses of this event is in progress.

TRYBUNA LUDU LISTS SOLIDARITY NEWSPAPERS

LD132226 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Aug (PAP)--Today's TRYBUNA LUDU reported that the following Solidarity's newspapers are published in Poland:

TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC weekly in 500,000 copies; JEDNOSC weekly in Szczecin in 100,000 copies; ODRODZENIE weekly in Jelenia Gora--100,000 copies; SOLIDARNOSC Jastrzebie weekly--50,000 copies; KWADRAT biweekly in Szczecin--magazine of the National Coordinating Committee of the printing industry workers--45,000 copies; NIEZALEZNE SLOWO weekly in Walbrzych--10,000 copies; SOLIDARNOSC ZIEMI PLOCKIEU weekly--10,000 copies; SIERPIEN 80 weekly in Koszalin--5-8,000 [hyphenated figure as received] copies.

Moreover, it follows from the information by the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions that Solidarity has got a permission to start publishing still this year three new papers in Gdansk, Krakow and the region of Mazowsze.

In addition to that, Solidarity publishes several hundred of bulletins, many of which (?are) regular weekly publications.

GLOS PRACY NOTES NEED FOR TRUE NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

LD141020 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 14 AUG (PAP)--Where are we going? That is the title of an article in GLOS PRACY which says, among other things:

For a year now, one of the most frequently used words in Poland is precisely the word solidarity. It is a very fine concept. There exists and functions a strong trade union organization bearing that name. Other trade unions, although they have various names, also base their activity on the idea of solidarity. For this idea is what should unite all trade unionists whose main aim if common: defending the interests of working people.

Today, when we are still going through days of tension in Poland, when immediately after the congress, the party Central Committee worked on ways of geting out of the situation which has come about and appealed for public prudence, we have a special need for trade union and nationwide solidarity--precisely in defense of the working people's interests. The cornerstone of this solidarity is an honest answer to the most simple question: What serves and what harms the interests of the working people? Where does bread come from? From where does Poland gain her strength? And what threatens it with destruction? All these thoughts which are disturbing us can be put into one question: Where are we going?

Let each one of us reply to it, before he takes the first step on a path whose end could cause even the slightest doubt.

FOREIGN TRADE WORKERS UNION ISSUES STATEMENT

LD131851 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Central Board of the Independent Self-Governing Union of Workers of Foreign Trade, held today, acquainted itself with reports and opinions of union members from the enterprises [word indistinct], AGROS and ANIMEX concerning arbitrary stoppage of exports of small quantities of foods to certain countries.

The Central Board of the union issued a statement saying that this is an attempt to interfere in the statutory monopoly of foreign trade which is managed by the state and its executive bodies and from which stems the authority of the minister of foreign trade over trade policy. Foreign trade matters, like any other element of national economic policy, is subject to social consultations with qualified trade organizations.

The Independent Self-Governing Union of Workers of Foreign Trade considers that foreign trade in foods and fodder, as an element of the problem of providing food for the population, should be a subject of general decisions concerning the foreign policy of the state as a whole and the situation of the international payments balance sheet, taking into account trade usage and the future of our exports. The union is ready to undertake such consultations with government bodies together with other trade union concerned.

On the other hand, the Independent Self-Governing Union of Workers of Foreign Trade resolutely opposes various gestures intended to have a propaganda effect without taking into account possible financial losses to the country.

REPORT ON GOVERNMENT, BRANCH UNION 13 AUG TALKS

LD132206 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Aug (PAP)--The Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions and the Branch Unions' Coordinating Commission met for talks at the Council of Ministers' headquarters here today.

The talks were cochaired by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and head of the Branch Unions Coordinating Commission Albin Szyszka.

The union side believes it necessary for the government to take firm ad hoc steps aimed at relieving the most acutely felt shortages, those which hurt especially the lowest (?pensioners). Branch unionists indicated that not all the opportunities have been used yet to increase production, to more efficiently distribute food and other staple consumer commodities.

The government officials stressed that counteracting of political adventurism is the number one patriotic duty.

The commission was critical about the to-date practice of the governments cooperation with trade unions and submitted the principles of this cooperation for discussion.

The following was agreed during the debate on the problems presented by Branch Unions and the suggested directions of solutions:

In view of the critical evaluation of the present system of rationing of staple commodities, the government will take steps to render it uniform throughout Poland, improve the system of distribution and the functioning of shops.

Acknowledging the proposal to reduce meat rations in September, the Branch Unions uphold their earlier stance that the government should take effective steps to raise meat rations in the October-December period to reach the quota from before August.

The coordinating Commission received with understanding the government proposals for price raises, which should be introduced gradually as an important element of the economic reform.

In connection with the proposed raise of prices for cereal products, the government accepted for consideration the demand put forth by the Branch Unions to grant everybody a compensation of 150 zlotys monthly. In the case of pensions whose pensions do not exceed 3,500 zlotys monthly, the compensation should amount to 200 zlotys.

The commission reiterated the demand to speed up work on changing the pensions system. The government accepted for consideration the demand put forth by the unions to raise the lowest pensions next autumn. Those raises will be irrespective of compensations for price raises.

It was found necessary to speed up legislative work of importance for the introduction of the economic reform.

As the Branch Unions firmly reject the schemes of structural unemployment, the government explained that the steps in the field of employment are intended to shift labour force, mainly to services and food production.

The Branch Unions will continue to assist the government's actions in the struggle against speculation.

The Branch Unions will grant aid to farmers and enterprises working for agriculture in order to ensure an efficient harvesting campaign.

It was decided that talks of working teams of the government and Branch Unions will start soon.

The Branch Unions' Coordinating Commission expressed its readiness to grant support to the efforts taken by the government aimed at overcoming the crisis and relieving its ill consequences for the society.

In this connection, PAP commentator wrote that at the beginning the talks did not go smoothly. Representatives of the Branch Unions arrived at the meeting bearing grudges that this trade movement is ignored in consultations, its voice is ignored at the making of many important decisions.

We have not come here to explain, Alain Szyszka said. However, the branch movement too feels responsible for the fate of the country and cannot agree for Solidarity to be the monopolist in voicing opinions about the affairs of the nation in relations with the government.

Although nearly a year has passed since the trade unions split, the functioning under the conditions of a new, independent model of a multi-union movement still poses many problems to state and economic administration and to the unions themselves. We have not yet worked out such forms of cooperation with the Branch Unions which would satisfy this movement as fully independent and self-governing and at the same time not standing in opposition to the party.

The talks at the government headquarters, during which many difficult issues have been made clear, will surely provide for a gradual enhancement in practice of partnership-based cooperation.

ZOFIA GRZYB 11 AUGUST PLENUM SPEECH REPORTED

LD131226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0520 GMT 13 Aug 81

["Extensive excerpts" from speech by Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo at the 11 August Central Committee plenary meeting in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] [Word indistinct] permit, that perhaps I will begin with what everyone has recently been asking: How is that I belong to Solidarity and am also a member of the Politburo? How can this be reconciled? Recently, comrades, the question has been phrased a little differently: How can these two memberships be reconciled? They are thinking about all those strikes, demonstrations, protests, [words indistinct] taking place under the (?banner) of Solidarity.

Comrades, we are in the most difficult situation ever, and somehow it happens that all those who today are crushing Poland [word indistinct] against socialism, either have a Solidarity badge in their buttonhole [words indistinct] and in their hand a teletype [word indistinct] union echelons ordering that somewhere trouble should be stirred up, hampered, or opposed.

I joined Solidarity because, like every worker, I wanted to belong to a trade union which would best defend the workers rights. I joined because I was not blind to the whole evil that exists in Poland and which caused that worker protest. I wanted to be active in a union which is young and new, venturesome and which has no chip on its shoulder from the past. I followed human hope. I joined Solidarity for the very reason that I am a party member, and so I went where the working class was going; where it was promised that the workers' interests would be best defended. Was I to shut myself up in an office, (?like those who felt) offended that anyone could dare not to be pleased with anything in our People's Poland? I didn't want that, and for that reason I joined Solidarity.

But I joined a different Solidarity, and now I get the impression that I am (?in a) completely (?different one). And as a member, I have the right to accuse the union leadership: You are betraying the workers' interest; you lied when you told us who you want to be, because you have gone in a completely different direction.

The organization grew from the workers' protest, and it was supposed to be the creative force which would put Poland right; which would cleanse Poland of evil; which would build anew; which would build and not destroy. And I am in a union where [words indistinct] people who can only protest and cause disturbances want to rule me.

Not a year has passed since Solidarity was set up, and the time has come already when, probably not just I but every party member, must ask himself: Where is my place? Why did I, in fact, join Solidarity? Can one reconcile [word indistinct] membership of the party with membership of a union which is increasingly entering into conflict with our party? Events run quickly: The situation is even [words indistinct] during the ninth party congress, but more acute and dangerous.

So, comrades, members of the Central Committee who elected me to the Politburo, I have to tell you that I will not leave Solidarity and I will not call on anyone else to do so. I thought, I hesitated and I made a decision. Communists should fight when they fight against us, change what [word indistinct] don't like, and not run away. We have to fight with hostile forces in the Solidarity leadership, the blindness of many activists, who [word indistinct] with ruin for the country, the line of confrontation, hostility toward socialism, and anti-Soviet outbursts. We must fight so that the leaders look at the statute which they themselves compiled and see at last their own signatures under the Gdansk agreement. We must, at meetings--and not just at meetings, but in factories--explain to people that a better Poland will not be gained by protest or [word indistinct]; so that if someone poses as a worker-leader and distances himself from the workers' interests, and if it is not known whose interests are guiding him, then he just has to be told: goodbye! This is no masked ball, sir! Please show who you are and what you want!

Adventurist activity is being carried on everywhere. We party members must oppose it, not permit it, and not allow it. We party members in Solidarity will not let it go without a struggle for the socialist, worker, character of the union. And I hope we will talk down these politicizers, that we will send packing those people who are geared for rows and making [word indistinct]. And if we do not succeed in this, well, (?there are limits). Nobody should belong anywhere against (?his interests). Nobody has to agree to the role of a puppet, [word indistinct] against his own interests and the country's interests. If we do not change our Solidarity, then, comrades, not only we party members but the entire class will refuse its support; because if something displeases us in our party's policy, then we correct it--if something displeases us in government policy or in state activity in general, then we will change it. But we will not tolerate those who fight against our party, who undermine our state and [words indistinct] socialist ideals and socialist order.

There is no point in concealing it: People are being taken in by all those fruitless protests, strikes every moment, despite the fact that they perceive that they will not bring any more meat or bread or coal, but that there will be less. And when something hurts somebody, when the conditions in which he lives anger him, he wants to (?show it: He wants to get rid of it somehow. But his mind tells him that by protests alone he is making it more difficult to get out of the crisis and is worsening the situation in his own country.

The women's situation is the most difficult. I understand it very well, because we stand in lines, run from shop to shop, and ask when they will be delivering anything at all. (?They are waiting) in fear for winter to begin. I am convinced that without any great philosophizing, even in this difficult situation, some matters can be settled in order that life should be at least bearable. There is too little food, but what we have we can sell so as to finish with the drudgery of lines. I do not see any such attempts, any ideas--and it is possible with regard to rationed goods. That was, after all, the reason for introducing ration books.

Speculation gives rise to more bad blood in worker environments, and it is a good thing the government has tackled it. We demand that this should not be a momentary enthusiasm.

It is true that speculation cannot be eliminated entirely if a great deal of money [word indistinct] on the market and the amount of goods decreases. But it can be pushed out to the fringe, simply because those interested in speculation make up 5 percent and those not interested in it make up 95 percent. Let Solidarity show in this sphere that it really has the strength and authority; that it can do something and not just [words indistinct]. The same applies to the good progress of procurement in rural areas and of improving the conditions of labor discipline in factories.

On these things, and in addition, on the extraction of coal, our existence most depends. And now there is no difference of opinion on these issues. Solidarity activists say: Just give us the conditions to act and we will move mountains. Coal, contracting, procurement, labor discipline--those were the mountains which were to be moved. As for the leading cells of Solidarity, one cannot see even attempts not just to move mountains but even hills.

The best plans for getting out of the crisis--and I think we have good and feasible plans--will remain in the drawers of government desks if the whole of society fails to understand that no government, no program, no foreign country, will save us, if we do not get moving and start saving ourselves.

Have we lost that [words indistinct]? Do we want ourselves to [word indistinct] with politicizing with such a strong side? One hears the view that we have too many appeals and (nothing to show for them). So, let us get down to work--everybody, regardless of union membership. I believe the party will get us out of the crisis: I believe Solidarity will be a workers' Solidarity, for millions of people joined it wtih the idea of that kind of workers' Solidarity, and it was with the idea of this kind of workers' Solidarity that I myself joined it. Thank you for listening. [applause]

COMMENT ON PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM RESULTS

LD131546 Warsaw PAP in English 1429 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Aug (PAP)--Commenting on the session of 2nd plenum of the PUWP CC, the PUWP daily TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA wrote inter alia:

"The Central Committee has once again confirmed its will to continue the renewal and the line of social agreement, and to solve the emerging conflicts with political methods and means.

"It has to be stressed," said TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA, "that the resolutions adopted recently by party authorities and organizations express strivings to a harmonious cooperation with trade union links which observe statute principles.

"At the same time the order of the day is a determined counteracting of the aggravation of the socio-political situation."

"All that serves the line of social agreements, renewal, calm and work must and will find support. Everything that ruins the economy, destroys the socially accepted norms and leads to anarchy, chaos and tragedy must be firmly opposed," wrote TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA.

LOCAL PARTY MEETINGS DISCUSS SECOND PLENUM OUTCOME

Grzyb in Radom

LD131646 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Numerous factory and enterprise meetings of party organizations are debating the resolution of the second plenum of the party Central Committee as well as documents to be implemented which specify the precepts and method of work to be done by the party central body.

The party meeting held in the Radom leather industry plant, Radoskor, was attended by member of the party Central Committe Politburo Zofia Grzyb. She dealt with the path taken by the second plenum and then answered questions about the country's sociopolitical situation. Among other things she stated that the party will oppose with complete determination the forces undermining our international alliances and commitments, destroying peace and order in the land.

At the same time the PZPR, in line with the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress, will continue to implement the line of agreement and socialist renewal.

Opalko at Tarnow Conference

LD140050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Text] A conference of the party aktiv held in Tarnow yesterday was devoted to the implementation of the resolutions and conclusions of the second plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The conference was attended by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Tarnow Voivodship Party Committee. Much time was devoted to problems connected with the very difficult situation prevailing in the region and in the country as a whole. It was stressed that all forces must be used to overcome the difficulties and the socioeconomic crisis.

Indeed, the situation is difficult. As far as market supplies are concerned, the plan for the first half of the year has been fulfilled by only 12 enterprises in the voivodship; in addition, there are difficulties with the supply of foodstuffs and difficulties in trade. All these difficulties must be liquidated in order to restore the good functioning of the economy and achieve market stabilization. The conference stated that this is the most important task of the party.

OLSZOWSKI RECEIVES NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY DELEGATION

LD131807 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and party Central Committee secretary, has received today a delegation of the Soviet press agency APN which is visiting Poland at the invitation of TRYBUNA LUDU.

The delegation is led by the editory-in-chief, Igor Medvedev. Present were Leslaw Tokarski, head of the Press, Radio, and Television Department of the party Central Committee, and Wieslaw Bek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU.

The subject of the meeting was activating journalistic cooperation, in particular with TRYBUNA LUDU, and discussing the role played in the publishing market by the periodical KRAJ RAD. Stefan Olszowski also informed the guests about the party's postcongress work.

NO IMPROVEMENT OF MEAT SUPPLY SEEN IN NEAR FUTURE

LD131610 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Aug (PAP)--Results of the state contractation [as received] of hogs and young slaughter cattle for delivery in the third quarter of this year do not show that an improvement in supply in meat and meat products can be expected. This induces ever greater difficulties with meat and animal fats to be bought with coupons.

For delivery in the third quarter the farmers contracted only slightly over 1,528,000 hogs, that is by over 536,000 less than in the same period last year, and some 164,000 of young slaughter cattle--by 54,000 less than last year.

The to-date contractation of slaughter animals for this October is even less satisfactory. So far, the amount of contracted hogs is by 303,000 nearly [number indistinct] percent smaller and of young slaughter cattle by some 66,000 smaller than in the same time last year. The contractation is still going on but it must be [word indistinct] if it can [word indistinct] to an extent which could be perceptible for consumers.

[Words indistinct] contraction is not only due to the reduced hog population but to a great extent to shortage of (?coal) and fodder. [Words indistinct] on farms and growing turnover at the free meat market.

Private Meat Sales Banned

LD132045 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] As of today two important resolutions on meat rationing take effect. Here are details in the interview by our reporter.

In the first 10 days of August further limitation of the deliveries of meat occurred. You are telling us, ladies and gentlemen, that in spite of the lowering of norms for meat in August you notice even more acute shortages of meat. What causes this?

[Answer by first unidentified speaker] There is a simple reason for this. In the first 10 days of August contract purchases of large animals for slaughter should have amounted to 32,000-33,000 tons. In fact, they amounted to 23,600. This is lower by about 8,500 tons than expected. If we compare this to the first 10 days of last August, the difference is simply dramatic: It amounts to a fall of 25,000 tons in comparison with last year; that is, by over 50 percent less than last year. This is the first cause. The second: In the same period further delays in the inflow of meat from imports occurred and it is now about 1,500 to 2,000 tons. [as heard] This is the main source of the current problems, in a situation where we do not have any reserves [words indistinct].

[Question] What do you intend to do?

[Answer by second unidentified speaker] I would like to inform you that by order of the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is the chairman of the Anticrisis Headquarters, too [as heard]--one must put it this way--unpopular decisions have been made.

The first is the decision authorizing the minister of internal trade--authorization issued by the premier--to issue regulations banning trade in meat coming from private slaughter and trade in any processed meat coming from such slaughter. The minister of internal trade signed an order today in which he introduces a ban on sale of meat coming from private slaughter, a ban on the sale of fat, pork, beef and veal as well, and any kind of processed meat coming from private slaughter. The ban does not apply to processed meat produced by craftsmen who have the right to pursue their profession as meat producers.

The manner in which the above-mentioned meat and meat products will be managed [zagospodarowac] and sold will be defined in detail by the local organs of state administration in the respective voivodships.

[Question] Mr Minister, what do you expect from this ban?

[Answer by third unidentified speaker] We expect that the fall in deliveries of meat for slaughter for contract purchasing, delivered to points of contract purchase will slow down. The second result, in conjunction with increased deliveries of coal to the countryside, will be creation of the possibility that producers of meat will be able to meet their contract sale pledges in full [passage indistinct].

[Question] As regards the free market sale of meat: Did it really make such an effect on the rationed sale of meat?

[Answer by unidentified speaker] One can affirm that it contributes certainly by at least a few percent to reducing the possibility to fill the needs from rationed sales; a reduction caused by the fact that these animals have not been handled by state purchase centers. The facts prove this, because in some regions, especially those in the vicinity of great urban centers, the sales outside the socialized system of purchases are rather large. For instance, in the first 10 days of August we have noted that in some cases, of the 5,000 to 6,000 animals contracted to be supplied in August, 10 percent were sold [on the private market] during the first third of the month.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY DISCUSSES TOTALITARIAN HERITAGE

AU131320 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Aug 81 p 3

[Andrezej Szczypiorski article: "The Heritage"]

[Text] Eleven months have passed since the August agreement. For a nation, this period is not long. For an individual, it is a slice of life.

Poland has changed very much. A year ago, no one was able to foresee what far-reaching changes would occur. Today all are agreed that there is no returning to the situation preceding August 1980. A new chapter has begun in the history of Poland.

After all, one can say totalitarianism is over. It lasted a long time, not just over the last decade. While changing methods and forms, it had been in the structures of the state and of power since 1948. Certainly, it varied. It was bloody and mild, hypocritical and truthful, despotic and forbearing, vigorous and drowsy, vulgar and elegant, consistent and fitful, as well as useful and ruinous for society.

There are people who say totalitarianism mainly consists of fear, hypocrisy and despotic power. Maybe they are right. It seems to be its nature that matters. It consists of man's depersonalization [uprzedmiotowanie czlowieka], of subduing his mind, of annihilating his will to act, his awareness of alternatives, choice and responsibility.

In its historical development, the totalitarian nature of the state occasionally happens to be fruitful. The subordination of society's entire effort to one center and one program increases the effect. After all, the world of civil freedoms is also a world of individual whims and egoisms. Thus, it is rather difficult to speak about common will, because, although public effort is a sum of acts, aspirations and initiatives encompassing vast fields, it is not concentrated on one and the most important issue.

I am not at all certain whether, under conditions of civil freedoms, the Poles would have managed to industrialize the country, to eliminate the devastation of war, to colonize the western lands, to rebuild Warsaw and make the entire nation advance in the fields of civilization, culture and education as rapidly as they have.

Some people say that history always offers alternatives. I think it does, but always post factum, that its interpretations happen to be optional, but the very course of historical events does not offer any choice.

This is why I do not intend to discuss whether the achievements of the last three decades cost much or little. Neither do I intend to discuss whether, under different circumstances, they would have cost less.

Because what counts are the facts.

The paralysis of civil attitudes now ranks among the most important facts. The old totalitarian schemes have disintegrated, but the mark of totalitarianism in human minds has remained.

As a matter of fact, it is the sudden orphanhood that makes us suffer. We behave like children horrified at our own self-reliance. The habit of thinking and acting on one's own account and at one's own responsibility, which is fundamental to the individualistic concept of man, is now alien to the Poles.

The last few months have illustrated that process of insecurity, frustration and fear. It sounds paradoxical because all the Polish and world press report daily about an unprecedented public activity, a spiritual rebirth and so forth.

In the sphere of wordage, the breakthrough has certainly been enormous. All of Poland is having discussions. And not only that. All of Poland at present sees the reality in a different way, evaluates it differently, draws from it different conclusions, and learns how to articulate opinions and views. This is very encouraging.

However, the atmosphere of expectation is predominant. In the autumn, that expectation was filled with euphoria. The formation of Solidarity seemed to have settled all problems. Obviously, it has not settled them! Poland was waiting then for the Ninth PZPR Congress, but the congress itself will not solve all of our dilemmas.

The formation of Solidarity was certainly a great event. The importance of the PZPR Congress was enormous, too, However, in that general expectation I find the symptoms of helplessness [niemoznosc]. There must always be someone or something to resolve, decide, settle or remedy things for us...

The position of Poland is critical. Everyone is aware of that. The need for recovering confidence, for programs, reforms and changes has been topical for months. That is good. The fact that people talk signifies that they see the need for new methods and forms. Without confidence, without a reform program and without structural changes, we certainly cannot go far. But no program and no reform will be able to work miracles. Waiting for some great breakthrough stems from make-believe thinking; it is a symptom of a totalitarian disease.

There is waiting. The overwhelming majority of society is still waiting for impulses, directives, orders, instruction, regulations.

The newspapers are writing about the need for discipline; the government calls for discipline. But what kind of discipline do we mean?

I am for discipline in the sphere of morality, for respecting the law which protects the interests of the state and the citizens.

But I am against that mindless discipline, most common in Poland, of depersonalized citizens who plead for a legal regulation just to continue to wait.

We have many regulations and acts which are virtually idiotic.

A commune chief in Zamosc Voivodship signed a contract with a Silesian mine. "I give you beef, and you give me coal." People in the mine happened to be bright. The agreement has been signed. The commune has coal for farmers, and the miners have something to eat!

The commune chief from Zamosc Voivodship and the mine director have broken a few idiotic regulations to cope with the requirements of life. Thank God, we have such adventures in Poland.

That insignificant example illustrates the degree of some people's desperation and courage. After all, in a modern state at the end of the 20th century, it is rather difficult to advertise the return to the primitive barter economy. But that initiative is evidence of some self-reliance without which nothing would be left from the great breakthrough.

Certainly, after so many years of prohibition, self-reliance will also produce many errors and nonsense. But there is public opinion to correct them. People must get used to criticism. What matters is the point of the criticism... at the moment, we can only be criticized for passivity.

I do not see how can we get out of the present situation without a civil risk for every Pole. We must not be afraid that it can bring about another crisis. The premier said in the Sejm that we would sink even deeper. But he was wrong! True enough, things could deteriorate in supplies or transportation, but not in matters of spiritual paralysis.

I do not appeal for so-called honest work because, under Polish conditions, such appeals are absurd. We were called to do "honest work" for decades: with boring, huckster-like obstinancy in the sixties and with boorish impudence and hypocrisy in the seventies. What made the propaganda particularly idiotic was driving people to work while at the same time requiring them to abstain from thinking.

I call for thinking! That is a complicated but useful job. What matters is not how many screws should be threaded, but to invent something to thread. If the regulation prescribes the use of a fingernail for threading, it must be thrown away in the dust-bin. In the meantime, many people are still breaking their fingernails and throwing screws away in the dust-bin. And they are laughing or cursing at being told to "work honestly".

When the mechanisms of the totalitarian state went out of order, people felt lonely; even those who talked so much about democracy and civic freedoms.

Someone could object that what happened was not his fault, and why should he now bear responsibility? I dare say that those are illusions. That innocent and blameless citizen lived in Poland, not on the moon. I am not an adherent of collective responsibility, but even a year ago I saw crowds of people at various meetings and ceremonies, including miners with feathery hats and steel smelters in elegant cowboy-like hats applauding Gierek and Jaroszewicz. Ladies and gentlemen, our innocents are still in the nursery!

Man's fundamental freedom is the freedom to think independently and to choose in alternative situations. We have been enjoying that freedom too modestly. We must not be surprised, as a result of further developemnts to find all our other freedoms in the junkpile of history.

GIOSAN, ANDREI RECEIVE U.S. CONGRESSMEN

AU131923 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Aug (AGERPRES)--On August 13, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, had an interview with the delegation of the Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, led by E. de la Garza, chairman of the committee, Democrat, deputy of the state of Texas, now visiting Romania.

The delegation includes William C. Wampler, minority leader of the Agriculture Committee, Republican of Virginia, Thomas Hagedorn, member of the committee, Republican of Minnesota, Ronald C. Marlenee, member of the committee, Republican of Montana, and Robert Shamansky, member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Democrat of Ohio, counsellors and experts.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the fact that significant progress was made in the field of collaboration and cooperation between Romania and the USA, the fact being assessed that both countries still had many and broad possibilities of expanding their cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural domains, possibilities which should be turned to best account. While opinions were exchanged on the activity of the Grand National Assembly and of the U.S. Congress, stress was laid on the important role the parliamentarians of the two countries had to play in steadily developing the relations between Romania and the USA.

The interview was attended by Iuliu Fejes, secretary of the Commission for Foreign Policy and International Economic Cooperation, and Tiberiu Muresan, member of the Commission for Agriculture, Silviculture and Water Management of the Grand National Assembly.

The same day, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, met the delegation of U.S. Congressmen.

Views were exchanged on the occasion on the current development stage and prospects of the relations between Romania and the USA in various fields of mutual interest, the wish being expressed to act for the expansion and deepening of those relations on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage.

Current international issues of joint interest were also approached.

Attending were Maria Groza, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

New ways and means conducive to the further development and diversification of the collaboration and cooperation in agriculture and the processing of farm products were discussed during the talk the guests had on August 13, too, with Marin Capisizu, minister secretary of state at the Minsitry of Agriculture and Food Indusrty, head of the Food Industry Department.

Participating was Adrian Rogojanu, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry.

The interviews were attended by Herbert Kaiser, charge d'affaires ad interim of the USA in Bucharest.

SCINTEIA MARKS TRADE UNIONS 75TH ANNIVERSARY

AU132015 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1733 GMT 13 Aug 81

["An Important Moment in the History of the Working Class in Romania"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Aug (AGERPRES)--Under this heading SCINTEIA of August 13 publishes an article on the celebration of 75 years since the foundation of the General Commission of the Trade Unions of Romania, an event of deep-going significance and fertile consequences for the development of the workers' movement, for the fight of the working class against the capitalist expoloitation, for the general progress of Romania. The article highlights the rich revolutionary traditions of the working class, its consistently militating for the implementation of the ideal of worker's unity.

Stressing that starting with the very first professional and mutual help associations set up by the middle of the past century, the process of workers' union around the same aspirations witnessed a continuous evolution, SCINTEIA reads; unlike other countries where the trade unions emerged as exclusive organizations for protecting the workers' professional interests, in Romania the trade union organizations adopted a political character, being from the very start a force supporting the political party of the working class. Significant on this line is the fact that in 1893 the congress for founding the Social-Democratic Party of the Workers in Romania was also participated in by eight professional associations that adhered to the programme and statute of the party.

The development of the struggle of the working class by the beginning of the century, the ever stronger proletarian character of the political and trade union organizations asked for the creation of a central body also in the field of the trade unions. The historic moment marking this process was the Bucharest conference held over August 13-15, 1906, that brought together the political organizations (the "Socialist Romania" socialist circles) and the workers' trade unions existing in the country at the time, and decided the foundation of the General Commission of the Trade Unions as a leading and coordination body of the trade unions all over the country. Of special significance was the fact that the conference was participated in by representatives of the workers from Transylvania and Bucovina. Stressed was rightly that at that time the manifestation of unity of the working class on all the Romanian territory anticipated the union with the country of the two provinces found under Austro-Hungarian domination.

The trade union movement gained an even stronger impetus grounded on the solid found. ion laid by the conference. After the conclusion of the formation process of the Romanian unitary national state, the tradition of unity of the organized ranks of the working class was strongly rooted in the political and professional movement of the workers. It led to favourable consequences over the entire inter-war period, diminishing to a large extent the negative consequences of the political and trade union disunion occurred by the beginning of the third decade and feeding a wide trend for unity, efforts for an ever righter collaboration among the communist, social and social-democratic workers. These efforts bore the fruit in the 1935-1936 years in the achievement of unity in the field of trade unions, in the ever more active participation of the trade unions in the great class battles against the bourgeois regime, in the strong demonstrations for defending the national freedom and independence that was threatened by fascism.

The spirit of unity was to triumph under the conditions created after the August 1944 armed insurrection through the creation of the Central Commission for the Organization of the United Trade Union Movement in Romania, on September 1, 1944, and then within the General Congress of the Trade Unions, in January 1945, that decided the creation of a single trade union central.

The working class, organized in single trade unions, could assert itself as the promoter of the great revolutionary transformations occurred in those years, played the decisive part in the victorious struggle for setting in the revolutionary-democratic government of March 6 and then for gaining the entire political power and turning to the construction of the new socialist system on the Romanian land.

SCINTEIA stresses that the full political and organizational unity of the working class, the unity of the entire people around the party have made the safe foundation for all the great achievements succeeded in the socialist construction, in the economic, social, political and cultural development of the country, in the radical change of the life conditions of the working people.

Today the Romanian trade unions, through their over seven million members, are not only the widest civic organization of the working people but also one of the most important levers through which the workers exert their role as a leading force of society. A role of course asserted first of all through the activity of the revolutionary party of the working class, whose lofty mission is precisely to secure the management of society by the most advanced, consistently revolutionary-social force, the workers.

The trade unions have ever wider responsibilities and obligations in the implementation of the working-class democracy, of self-management and self-administration of enterprises and institutions, in mobilizing all the efforts for the harmonious development of economy, the increase of labour productivity, the higher capitalization of the country's material resources, the judicious use of the work time, the improvement of production quality, in securing the country's multilateral progress.

Invested with the right stipulated by law to be represented in the government and within the collective management bodies, having direct responsibilities in the organization of the general meetings of the working people, in the performance of the civic control, the trade unions ensure the active presence and the wide participation of the working class, of the masses of the working people in the responsible debate and working out of the measures concerning the management and husbanding of their own enterprises, of all the measures regarding the implementation of the economic plans, play an ever more important part in the management of all the fields of economic and social life. They make an active contribution to the application of legislation, of the principles of the socialist remuneration, and of moral and material stimulation of the working people, to the implementation of the labour safety measures, to organize the leisure and recreation of the working people, the professional training, unfolding at the same time an intense political, educative and cultural-artistic activity meant to contribute to the formation of the new man, to the development of the revolutionary spirit, of the new, socialist consciousness, SCINTEIA reads in conclusion.

CEAUSESCU SENDS BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO CASTRO

AU140858 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Havana.

I take pleasure in extending to you on your birthday warmest congratulations, cordial comradely greetings and sincere wishes for complete good health, happiness and new successes in your activity devoted to socialist Cuba's flourishing and the well-being and happiness of the friendly Cuban people. I am convinced that the relations of friendship between our parties and countries, which are developing on various levels, will constantly deepen and strengthen in the interests of the Romanian and Cuban peoples and the cause of socialism, peace and international understanding and cooperation.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

TANJUG ON KANIA VISIT TO CRIMEA, EVENTS IN POLAND

LD132132 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Aug (TANJUG)--The forthcoming talks between Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Stanislaw Kania and Leonid Brezhnev are viewed as exceptionally important both here in Poland and abroad. Kania tomorrow leaves for the Crimea where he will exchange views with the Soviet leader on the situation in Poland, Polish-Soviet relations, the situation in the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon member-countries and the international aspects of the Polish crisis.

Carefully following the developments in Poland over the past year, Moscow has several times reiterated its conviction that the Polish communists and people will succeed themselves to pull the country out of the difficult crisis. Moscow has been assured of this by Poland's continuous efforts to solve the critical situation in the country with its own forces and on its own soil.

The process of the consolidation of the conditions in Poland is not unfolding at the pace expected, particularly since the special PUWP Congress. On the contrary, the country as its highest organs have assessed, has in fact fallen into the "deepest crisis".

In the meantime, four events of decisive importance for overcoming the crisis have taken place. Firstly, the new PUWP Central Committee at its first session irrevocably confirmed that the (?party) and the government continue open to the consistent line of social consultations to reach accord with all progressive and patriotic forces of Polish society but also resolved to oppose all attempts underming this line. The government has confirmed that it will persist in its programme of measures for insuring a gradual but sure improvement of economic conditions in the country.

The Solidarity coordinating commission at its meeting in Gdansk urged all its organizations and working collectives to refrain from protest actions and strikes.

A meeting also took place between party leader Kania and Polish Catholic Church head, Archbishop Jozef Glemp. During the meeting, the two agreed that what Poland needs the most today are national accords, social peace, sacrifice, work and good economic activity.

Amid the "hot" situation in Poland, Kania tomorrow leaves for the Crimea for talks with Brezhnev. Otherwise, the traditional July Crimea meetings between Brezhnev and the party heads of the socialist community countries have been concluded for the most part. Kania is the only one still [word indistinct]. It is evident that there have been many reasons for so far postponing his visit to the Crimea.

DEFENSE MINISTER RECEIVES ITALIAN COUNTERPART

AU131245 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 81 p 7

[Text] Dubrovnik--The day before yesterday Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, received Lelio Lagorio, minister of defense of the Italian Republic, who is on a short vacation with his family in Kupari near Dubrovnik.

Their talks were on various issues concerning cooperation between the armies of the two friendly countries. The talks took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

DEATH OF PRESIDENCY MEMBER DORONJSKI REPORTED

LD140947 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)--Comrade Stevan Doronjski, prominent revolutionary, communist and sociopolitical worker, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, died last night at 2240. This was reported today by the SFRY Presidency. Because of this, there will be a joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium today.

Lying in State at Assembly

AU141105 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1037 GMT on 14 August carries a 3-minute report by Radmila Mijatovic from the SFRY Assembly building. Mijatovic reports that the coffin with the remains of Stevan Doronjski, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is carried into the Assembly building by officers of all three arms of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The coffin is followed by members of Doronjski's immediate family and then by the following high officials: Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency; Petar Stambolic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency; Branko Mikulic and Hamdija Pozderac, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense; Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Vidoje Zarkovic and Cvijetin Mijatovic, members of the SFRY Presidency; Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; and Jovan Veselinov, member of the Council of the Federation.

Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1046 GMT on 14 August carries another 2-minute report from the SFRY Assembly building by Radmila Mijatovic, reporting that Sergej Kraigher, Petar Stambolic, Lazar Kolisevski, Cvijetin Mijatovic, Vidoje Zarkovic and Fadilj Hodza were the first to form a guard of honor at Doronjski's bier.

Day of Mourning 15 Aug

LD141112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 14 Aug 81

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)--The Federal Executive Council has proclaimed 15 August a day of mourning in honor of Comrade Stevan Doronjski. Flags will be hung at half-mast and all entertainment and cultural events will be cancelled.

SETINC WRITES ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN KOMUNIST

LD132047 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)--The fact that all churches in Yugoslavia are excluded from power, which they had long dominated, is primarily a result of the successful resolution of the national question and of major socioeconomic and social changes which led to socialist self-management and the strengthening of the role of workers and the working man in associated labor and society in general, Franc Setinc writes in the latest issue of KOMUNIST. The national question in Yugoslavia is resolved in principle. However, as Edvard Kardelj wrote, the stability and lasting nature of this gain depend on the way in which the working class realizes socialist self-management in practice.

If the working class were not to overcome and resolve successfully existing contradictions, including contradictions relating to the issues of nation and class, Setinc states, then clericalism in the church would try to compensate for this and make political capital out of it by trying to represent itself as an intermediary, a defender of national interests. The reason why reactionary circles in the church have not succeeded in this to date is because there is no single existential issue on which they could offer an alternative which the popular masses would accept. However, clericalism will continue to feed on our weaknesses and try to collude with nationalism and liberalism.

However, we must not allow reactionary circles in individual churches to take advantage of our weaknesses and difficulties and offer their "good offices" attempting, by referring to the nation-cultural and historical services of the church in defending its people, to renew their credentials which have failed in history. On this we must not lose sight of the fact that the working class has a liberation role in its people, and so it is an oversimplification to speak about the national indivisibility of the working class in Yugoslavia. Emphasis on the national indivisibility of the Yugoslav working class is not only grist to the mill of nationalist aspirations, but can also lead us off into the dangerous waters of theory, not without political consequences, on the so-called socialist, that is the Yugoslav, nation. We must really be wary of such dangers.

It cannot be said that an antisocialist and anti-self-management orientation is strengthening to a great extent in the ranks of the clergy and its hierarchy. We should say rather that in the last few years, apart from individual groups, there has been a predominant loyalty to social reality. On this, we must not forget that in the last 20 years the orientation toward loyalty, and even toward constructive activity, was primarily based at the grassroots, in the ranks of the lower clergy and especially in the clerical societies.

The outcome of our struggle against negative ideological trends which inevitably result following activty by religious communities, especially their reactionary groups, depends to a great extent on the development of the Socialist Alliance. Nothing should be changed, but it should be ensured that the Socialist Alliance, as we long ago declared it, becomes alive in social practice and reality. For without such a Socialist Alliance our political system cannot function effectively nor can the League of Communists affirm its true qualities.

Recently, Setinc noted, in the context of some religious communities, especially those of the Roman Catholic Church, certain demands have been stressed which cannot be realized in our system, for their aim is to politicize religion. This, above all, is expressed implicitly in the demand for the church to be some kind of representative (exponent) of believers in social, that is, quite nonreligious, issues, and some kind of partner in talks with representatives of the authorities and society. Such demands could not be satisfied even in some lay bourgeois and other types of states. This needs to be said loudly and clearly.

We hear the objection, and this has escalated recently and is assuming the dimensions of an attack on our system in some places, that in our country Marxism is privileged, that it is only a view of the world which is decreed in some way and imposed on children at school and on others. In short, they first distort Marxism in order to proceed to attack it.

Marxism is a necessary condition of our current and future socialist development. This, naturally, does not mean that such Marxism in the schools acts with a view to making the pupils into atheists.

Marxism is an essential component of the training and upbringing of young people, to prepare them for life in a socialist self-management society, but it is not aimed at metaphysical issues. As a view of the world, Marxism may be unacceptable to believers but they accept it as a factor of transformation of the contemporary world, as Bishop Grmic says.

A person does not become a member of the League of Communists primarily because he is not religious, although he might indeed do so, but because the League of Communists guarantees to be active in the realization of class and social aims and to act as a cohesive factor among people regardless of their philosophical disposition, religion and all the rest. In our country many League of Communists members excessively emphasize atheism, as if the League of Communists were only some kind of association of people with the same view of the world or a sect which, of course, it is not.

Undoubtedly all this causes harm for such interpretations of Marxism are used by clericalists for their own purposes. We must not wage the struggle against clericalism, Setinc stresses, from positions of sectarianism but from positions of ensuring religious freedom and equality of all religious communities, and equal participation by working people, both believers and nonbelievers, in all forms of self-management and political organizations.

Thus in our society we resolutely oppose any kind of clericalism which tries to abuse religion for political aims. We likewise oppose sectarianism when it manifests itself as a lack of trust in believers as equal members of the Socialist Alliance.

PEC COURT SENTENCES FOUR KOSOVO IRREDENTISTS

LD132218 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Pec, 13 Aug (TANJUG)--The organizer of the illegal irredentist organization "Movement for the National Liberation of Kosovo" in Djakovica (Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo), Muhamed Rogova, a M.A. of Albanian language, was sentenced here in Pec today to 9 years in prison. Rogova and a student, who was today sentenced to 6 years in prison, had rallied followers under a slogan calling for the secession of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia where members of the Albanian nationality live and their joining to Albania.

A lawyer, sentenced to 8 years in prison back in 1964 for the same enemy activity, was sentenced to 9 years in prison and a craftsman to three years in prison by the Pec court today.

ALI SUKRIJA ATTENDS MEETING IN SUVA REKA

AU132055 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 Aug 81

[Text] Ali Sukrija, president of the Kosovo Presidency, today participated in the work of an expanded session of the communal committee of the League of Communists of Suva Reka which discussed the economic trends in the first 6 months of this year, and the tasks of the League of Communists to implement political and economic stabilization in this commune.